Colonialism and the Development of the English Provincial Museum, 1823-1914

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Declaration

This thesis is based on my studies performed in the School of Arts and Cultures, University of Newcastle upon Tyne from October 2002 to December 2005. The content of this thesis is original and no part has been submitted for the award of any other degree.

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century, when the British Empire was nearing its peak in terms of territory and population, museums in England were being founded at an exponential rate. This thesis sheds light on the relationship between colonialism and provincial museums, and the role colonialism played in the development of these institutions, by focussing on the acquisition of colonial material by five English provincial museums between 1823 and 1914. Through the use of acquisition records the flow of colonial material (both natural history and ethnographic) from the British colonies of Africa, Australia and India to the museums of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, Saffron Walden Natural History Society, Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society and Liverpool Museum was quantified. This revealed that each museum experienced unique trends in the flow of colonial material which I suggest was caused by the individual institutional dynamics of each museum; there was no direct correlation between the flow of material to these museums and historical themes relating to British colonial history, the geographical location of museums (on ports or inland) or the flow of material to the British Museum, although these elements did influence acquisitions. Donors were mainly middle-class males who preferentially contributed to their local museum, and although employed in a wide-range of occupations within the Empire a surprising number had never visited the British colonies. While the donation of this material may not have been entirely philanthropic, it both benefited the donors and proved a valuable asset to museums, contributing to their role as educators, entertainers and promoters of civic pride. These findings contribute to our understanding of the development of provincial museums in England, and illustrate their varied and dynamic histories.

Preface

It is well known that like other colonial powers such as France and Spain, the British Empire had a profound effect on recent world history. During the nineteenth century, when the Empire was nearing its peak in terms of territory and population, museums in England were being founded at an exponential rate; and as a result of the prolific collecting habits of the colonisers throughout this colonial period, they acquired material from around the globe. Curators today are constantly reminded of this fact as they have to deal with a host of social, ethical and intellectual issues associated with this material, but in a contemporary context.

These collections have been used to give us more information about colonial societies, their cultures and natural environments, encounters between the coloniser and colonised and, in terms of the museum, the display of ethnographic material has been used to highlight the attitudes of the colonised to the coloniser. The principal aim of this thesis is to use colonial collections as a means to investigate the development of the English provincial museum during the nineteenth and early twentieth century; a subject which, until recently, has received remarkably little interest. Where this has been looked at, it is generally in terms of local collections, but international collections (unless looking at specific collectors or the display of collections), are often bypassed. This thesis will look at the development of provincial museums by examining the acquisition of African, Australian and Indian material and the circumstances affecting its acquisition, taking into account both temporal and spatial factors. The history of provincial museums is bound up with the country's history as a colonial power and world trader and this thesis aims to reveal the role which colonialism, in the form of colonial acquisitions, played in the development of the provincial museum. Owing to the legacy which this material has brought with it to contemporary museums, it is crucial that the circumstances under which it was acquired by museums and the roles it played in their development are fully understood.

This research takes a comparative approach, utilising five English provincial museums as case studies rather than just one and as a result reveals a very varied and interesting era in museum history. As well as examining how external events shaped the flow of colonial material into provincial museums, it looks at how acquisitions were affected by local factors within the museum, including the influence of donors, curators and managers. It avoids, however, concentrating on specific well-known collectors, instead looking collectively at the large group of individuals who were responsible for the majority of colonial material which entered provincial museums, both those who travelled to the colonies and those who did not.

The thesis can be divided into three parts. The intention of the fist part (chapters 1-3) is to provide the reader with a general background, before in-depth case studies are presented in the second section (chapters 4-8) and finally brought together and discussed in the final section (chapters 9-10). Chapter 1 identifies the three cultural phenomena which underlie the aim of this study: the expansion of the British Empire, the collecting craze and the growth of museums which occurred during this period. Chapter 2 goes on to present the aims and objectives of this study and the methods employed to answer the research question. The final chapter in this section (chapter 3) gives further context to this research by exploring the colonial material acquired by the national museums and possible reasons for the patterns of acquisitions they experienced. It also gives further information on the relationships which Britain had with the colonies of Africa, Australia and India; an understanding of which is necessary before making reference to colonial acquisitions made by provincial museums.

The second part (chapters 4-8), which forms the body of this thesis, focuses on individual case studies of provincial museums, which hold varied positions across England, some located on ports and some inland. These are the museums of: Saffron Walden Natural History Society (chapter 4), Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (chapter 5), Liverpool Museum (chapter 6), the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (chapter 7) and finally Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (chapter 8). These chapters all follow a similar chronological structure; after stating the flow of colonial material over the nineteenth century, possible influences on the flow of this material are presented, in particular in terms of events which occurred at the level of the museum. The donors of this material are also reviewed. In terms of the port museums, the affect of location, for example the correlation of trade routes with the flow of colonial acquisitions is also included.

The final part (chapters 9 & 10) brings together the information gathered in previous parts to reveal the role played by colonial acquisitions in the development of provincial museums. Chapter 9, unlike the previous chapters, takes a thematic approach. It begins by discussing the flow of colonial acquisitions to provincial museums, accounting for both temporal and spatial differences. The possible influences on the flow of this material at a local, national and international level are examined. The roles which this material played within the provincial museum are assessed, before moving onto the donors of this material and the possible advantages that donating this material delivered to them. An analysis of the British colonial attitudes which the acquisition and display of this material presented is given before briefly connecting this historical research to the present day concerns of the museological community. Chapter 10 concisely brings together the main findings of this research and suggests possible avenues for future research.

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1 Introduction

1.1 General introduction

It is well known that like other colonial powers such as France and Spain, the British Empire had a profound effect on recent world events. The British Empire is particularly well-known; it was the greatest empire in history, the first global empire, and it played an integral role in the shaping of the modern era, laying the foundations of capitalism and establishing English as a global tongue. Empire has been noted for both its positive and negative consequences, but today it is often the negative repercussions, for both the colonised and the coloniser, that are conventionally thought to outweigh the benefits (see for example Ferguson 2003; Edelstein 1994). As these facts suggest, the effects of British colonialism were, and still are, far felt. Museums did not escape the consequences of this phenomenon, for example, Hoberman (2003: 467) comments that:

> This late nineteenth-century period of growth coincided with the New Imperialism; as Britain's empire expanded, artifacts from other continents filled its museums.

This statement suggests that the expansion of the British Empire may well have had an impact on the development of museums in Britain, through the accession of material originating from its colonies of conquest. It is true that during the nineteenth century, whilst the British Empire was expanding in terms of territory and population (see section 1.4), Britain was experiencing an intense episode of museum establishment. Lewis (1992a: 12) notes that it was during the nineteenth century that the museum came to be recognised as 'the appropriate institution for the preservation of a nation's historic heritage'. Throughout this period the number of museums in Britain was growing rapidly, many of Britain's great museums were built, for example, the British Museum (1823) and the National Gallery (1838) to name just two.[1] It was not only high profile national museums, but also provincial museums (for example, local authority, university and voluntary society museums) which were established. The nature of museum growth proliferated, particularly after the turn of the mid-nineteenth century; at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only 12 museums in Britain, growing to 60 by the mid-century, before rapidly multiplying. The British Isles had over 240 museums by 1887

[1] Note that these are not the dates of the establishment of these institutions but the dates when new buildings were constructed to house their collections. 1823 marked the start of a number of additions to the British Museum at Montague House and 1838 saw the construction of the current National Gallery located in Trafalgar Square.

and the number still continues to grow (Pearce 1992: 107); the Museums Association (2005) states that today there are between 2500 and 3000 museums.

As these figures imply, the nineteenth century marks a prominent period in the development of these institutions. Both historians and cultural theorists have tackled this area of study, looking at the histories of individual institutions and museums as a whole, identifying significant social, political, economic and cultural developments which transpired during the nineteenth century and had a knock-on effect on the development of museums (e.g. Bennett 1995, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Coombes 1994; for further information on literature relating to the history of museums see section 1.4). Nineteenth-century museums have been identified for the educating (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Greenwood 1888: 25-33), socialising (e.g. Withers & Finnegan 2003; Naylor 2002; Withers 2001; Hill 2005) and civilising (e.g. Greenwood 1888: viii; Bennett 1995) role they played in society. This thesis aims to contribute to this area of research by examining the impact which nineteenth-century colonialism had on the development of English provincial museums, through the acquisition of colonial material.

To understand how the museum as we know it today came to exist, it is vital that we have a thorough grasp of its past and the factors which shaped the museum into its present day form (Pearce 1992: 115; Alderson 1996: xi-xii; Mason 2004; Spalding 2002). For example, Rea (1932: 28) states that:

> In almost every attempt to understand museums today it is necessary to bear in mind the mixture of the old and new philosophies which they represent.

This is particularly relevant in terms of the subject of this study. The deposition of objects in museums, collected under the circumstances of colonialism during the nineteenth century, has left a legacy to museums today which national and provincial museums are acutely aware of. The holding of colonial material has been recognised by a number of authors who have written critical accounts of the museum's complicity in colonialism. These academic papers are from a variety of backgrounds within cultural studies (Barringer & Flynn 1998; Lidchi 1997: 151-222; Coombes 1994; Shelton 2001 a, b). In addition, histories of institutions include accounts of material accessioned, often revealing that colonial material was deposited within museums.

Published information on the history of national museums in England is readily accessible (Yanni 1999; Thackary & Press 2001; Steam 1981; Caygill 2002) whereas information on museums and collections residing outside the capital is much more difficult to come by. Even though the popularity of historical museology has risen in recent years, from both an historical (*ibid.*) and cultural theory background (Coombes 1994; Hooper-Greenhill

1992; Bennett 1995), it is still the metropolitan museum which is featured, the provincial museum overlooked. This is despite the fact that many provincial museums boast a rich source of archival data, as well as a wealth of collections which are scientifically and historically important, often dating back to before the early nineteenth century.

Although provincial museums often used museums in the metropolis as models (see section 3.1), they have particular developments, features and forms which are unique to them. This has been recognised by Alberti (2002, 2003a) who has published a number of accounts which are specifically focused on the cultural history of provincial museums and in particular natural history collections (belonging to natural history and philosophical societies), identifying a number of their unique qualities. Hill (2005) has also used provincial museums (municipal museums) rather than national museums as primary case studies, suggesting that they can reveal 'weaknesses and inconsistencies that are not present in national and other more prestigious museums' (*ibid.*: 1). The very fact that provincial museums are of a local nature, often reliant on the financial support of the local community through subscriptions in the case of society museums or rate payers in the case of local authority museums (and in both situations philanthropic acts), reveals a fragility and dependence on their surrounding environment (Hill 2000: 4). The changing agendas, priorities and perspectives of the local community (in particular the middle class) which were not always the same in each community, are often reflected within the development of the provincial museum (Jones 2001; Hill 2005, 2001). This is in opposition to national museums that had a greater financial stability, with a more direct influence from the government.

Recent research carried out on the development of provincial museums, particularly museums associated with natural history societies, very much emphasises the local focus of these institutions in terms of the acquisitions made (Withers & Finnegan 2003; Naylor 2002; Withers 2001). By comparison, the implication of colonialism (and the associated material which entered museums) on the development of provincial museums is as yet relatively unexplored. In relation to colonial collections and associated collector biographical research, it is the national museums which have received the majority of attention. The knowledge of the colonial collector which is presented is largely in relation to those who donated to the national museums, conjuring up a picture of scientists, missionaries, army officials and diplomats (see section 1.8). These accounts are highly biased toward the professional collector (Ralph 1993; Branagan 1993) and amateur collectors are often not acknowledged (McMillan 1996: 125).

The scale of influence of the global phenomenon of colonialism on these small provincial establishments, with their exclusive features and intimate relations, could give us a unique insight into certain aspects of their development and the far-spread effects of the British Empire. The scattered distribution of provincial museums in a common country will

also allow the comparison of the effects of colonialism and the development of museums in differing locations, an analysis which could not be carried out by the use of national museums alone.

This chapter will give a background to this study by first identifying the presence of colonial material within English museums today, both national and provincial (see section 1.2), and then outlining the three cultural phenomena which underlie the questions asked by this thesis: British colonialism (see sections 1.3 & 1.4), the rise of the museum (see section 1.5) and the nineteenth-century collecting craze (see sections 1.5.3, 1.6, 1.7 & 1.8).

1.2 Colonial collections in museums today

The British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History) hold a wealth of colonial material (e.g. Wilson 2003; Crook 1972; British Museum 1904a, b; see also section 3.3). The British Museum acknowledged their universal nature owing to the collections which it holds from all over the world, in a declaration signed in 2002 (Flynn 2003).[2] The majority of this material was collected and deposited in the British Museum during the nineteenth century when the British Empire was successfully expanding across the globe (see section 1.4). Yanni (1999: 114-115) states that:

> the museums' [British Museum: Natural History] imperial mandate was to assemble the exotic remnants of the colonial periphery ... The impact of thousands of objects on view would communicate to foreigners and Britons alike the wealth of the empire in the powerful form of natural knowledge, whose claim to irreducible truth was associated with British rule.

Collating knowledge about the colonies was seen as an important factor in controlling the British Empire (Richards 1993). Museums, especially the British Museum, played a part in the collation of this knowledge through the collections which they acquired from across the globe. Coombes (1994: 126) further suggests that museums were 'recognised as an important element in furthering objectives of Empire' because they appeared (at least superficially) to play a role in the political strategy social imperialism; that is, by acting as popular educators

[2] This declaration has been subject to much criticism from leading museum agencies (see Neill 2004 for a brief review of these criticisms). Neill (2004: 190) for example thinks 'the credibility of the idea is undermined by its being deployed chiefly as a defence against repatriation claims' and that the display practices of universal museums (the British Museum), 'are as likely to confirm prejudice as to promote tolerance'.

they united all classes (including the working class) and convinced them that their interests were best served by the expansion of Empire.

The possession of colonial material by the British Museum is well-known as a result of the high profile nature of some of these objects; many of which are particularly topical and well-represented at the moment in the popular press because of the heated debates taking place over its possible repatriation, a significant legacy associated with this material (e.g. Steel 2004). It is these colonial collections housed in national museums which often over-shadow the wealth of colonial material held in the provinces. These collections are frequently equal in value, both scientifically and historically, to those collected and donated to museums located in the capital. The variety and importance of the colonial material held by provincial museums cannot be underestimated.

Some provincial museums make an obvious display of the colonial collections which they hold, such as the 'Worlds of Man' gallery at Saffron Walden Museum, which aims to give a representation of the cultures of different nations of the world. As the Saffron Walden Museum guidebook states:

> The cultures of many peoples in Africa, the Americas, the Pacific Islands, Australia and New Zealand are described as they appeared to European travellers of the 19th century and earlier.
>
> The areas represented were all touched through British colonialism, in fact, the majority of the displayed material was collected and donated in the nineteenth century as a result of colonial encounter (Pole 1987: 3). The Derby Museum (now known as the World Museum Liverpool, which although now known as a national museum, was a provincial museum in the nineteenth century) holds a very important ethnology collection ranking among the top six in the country. Like other museums, the Liverpool collection covers the British Empire in general terms but has particular strengths. The African collection, for example, consists of over 10,000 artefacts from most regions of the continent; western central and western Africa are particularly strongly represented and contain the majority of the more important and best-known items, such as Benin bronzes (Kingdon, unpublished work). Many of these are displayed in the new 'World Cultures Gallery' which aims to take the visitor on a journey around the world, taking a look at the different traditions, beliefs and religions of peoples (National Museums Liverpool 2005a).

One of the key exhibition spaces in local museums which are solely designated to display colonial material are Egyptology galleries (Britain seized control of Egypt's government in 1882, but nominal allegiance to the Ottoman Empire continued until 1914). Many provincial museums, for example, Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, Blackburn

Museum and Art Gallery and the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, promote an exhibition space on Egyptology, often containing mummies and other Egyptian artefacts. Egyptology exhibits have proved very popular receiving above average number of visitors, which has been connected with the excellent condition and diversity of material presented as well as the mysticism that people associate with Ancient Egypt (Wildung 1995). Their use as exhibits in many museums is probably also connected with the fact that 'Ancient Civilisations' (including Egypt) is featured in Key Stage 2 (history) of the English National Curriculum, and therefore attracts school party visits (Goodridge 2002). Museums acquired the majority of this Egyptian material during the nineteenth century, for example, in the case of Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, Egyptian artefacts were acquired through the Egypt Exploration Fund to which they subscribed.[3]

Colonial natural history material also plays a significant role in many provincial museums. One unusual display which makes use of colonial trophy heads and mounted animals is Abel's Ark at the Hancock Museum (Figure 1.1). These specimens were the result of a number of hunting expeditions carried out in South Africa by a local businessman, Abel Chapman. This acts as an alternative to either dioramas or taxonomic methods of display which are often utilised (Davis 1996: 62-75). The colonial nature of natural history material is often hidden. For example, when exhibited within taxonomic displays or dioramas, its relationship with other species is highlighted rather than its place of origin. Again, using the Hancock Museum as an example, the gallery 'The Magic of Birds', uses a range of dioramas to illustrate topics such as breeding, migration and even folklore, within which are many specimens from colonial localities, although they are not labelled so. Even if the origin of this material is clear, the circumstances under which it was collected are often ignored by the museum.

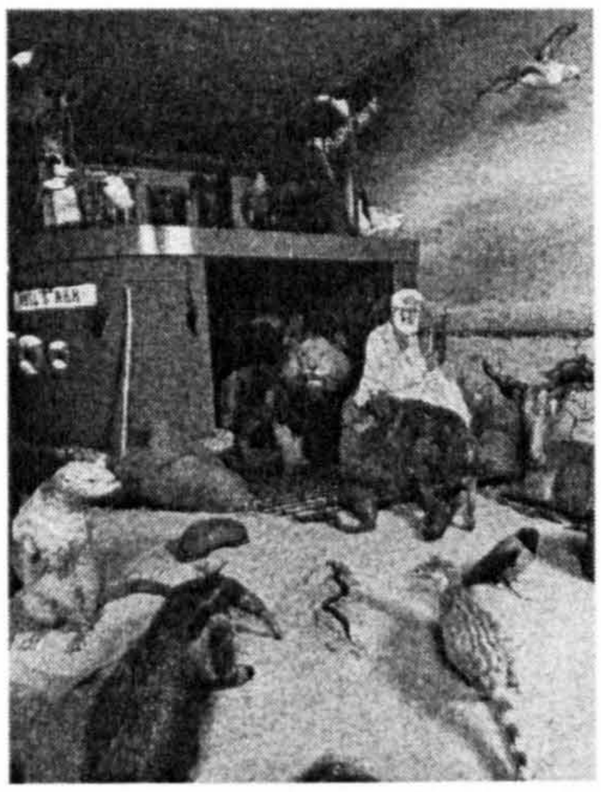

Figure 1.1 'Abel's Ark' exhibit at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, illustrating the display of colonial collections (taken from Davis 1996: 68).

[3] Annual Report of the Museums (including the Chadwick Museum) and Meteorological Observatory for 1897. The Egyptian Exploration Fund was founded in 1882. Its principal aims were to explore, survey and excavate ancient sites in Egypt and Sudan and then publish its findings (James 1982).

In addition to colonial material which is on display, there is also material held within the store (both natural history and ethnographic). The Hancock Museum collection for example, holds a large collection of Australian land-shells collected by George French Angas (1822-1886) and a collection of Burmese butterflies collected by Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (1846-1930), both of which are scientifically important because of the type specimens they contain (Davis 1996: 136; also see section 7.5.1 and appendix 1). These examples however, hint at the large and important collections of colonial material which still survive in provincial museums today. A key factor which influenced the acquisition of this colonial material was the rise of British colonialism.

1.3 British colonialism: definitions

To establish how colonialism affected the development of provincial museums, it is necessary to look at British colonial history in some depth and to define a number of terms which are integral to this study.

1.3.1 Colonialism

The term colony has existed for over 3000 years,[4] from the periods during which the Greeks and Romans colonised most of the islands in the Mediterranean (Hall 2000: 5). In the late fifteenth century, some major events in exploration, such as the discovery of the New World by Columbus, and the first voyage around the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama (who in turn became the first European to reach India by a sea route) were the starting point of the exponential growth in the discovery and colonisation of the rest of the world by Europeans, which took place over the next five hundred years (Ferro 1997: 4-6). With this long history of colonisation, which affected most parts of the globe, it is apparent that the process of colonisation varied, both temporally and spatially (Fieldhouse 1982: 72-83; Young 2001: 17; Loomba 1998: 3; see section 1.4).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) defines a colony as:

> A settlement in a new country; a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so

[4] The term 'colony' derives from the Latin *colonia*, meaning a settlement of Roman citizens in a newly conquered territory (Hall 2000: 5).

> formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connexion with the parent state is kept up.

This definition has been criticised by Loomba (1998: 1-2) as it makes no reference to the colonised people and the impact which colonialism has on them and therefore does not implicate any means of encounter, conquest or domination, which are all associated by-products of colonisation. Colonisation has been acknowledged as a disruptive force to colonised societies, producing a dominance hierarchy, economically as well as culturally and socially (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998). In this way much colonial discourse has gone on to describe the dehumanising effects of colonialism and the inequality involved (Fanon 1967a, 1963). Other definitions of colonialism have tried to acknowledge these disruptive by-products, Loomba (1998: 2) defining colonialism as 'the conquest and control of other people's land and goods', and the *OED*, stating that colonialism is 'now frequently used in the derogatory sense of an alleged policy of exploitation of backward or weak peoples by a large power.' This *OED* definition goes even further than Loomba's, directly describing colonialism as a form of exploitation and implying that such acts, for example, the slave trade, constitute a fundamental part of the definition.

A more satisfactory definition which consists of an amalgamation of the previous two examples, emphasising both the initial settlement and the subsequent impact on the existing people inhabiting the colony has been suggested by Hall (2000:5):

> ... the European pattern of exploration and 'discovery', of settlement, of dominance over geographically separate 'other', which resulted in the uneven development of forms of capitalism across the world and the destruction and/or transformation of other forms of social organization and life.

This definition can be adapted to the situation of collecting, the museum and Empire in the nineteenth century. Firstly, as in the *OED* definition of a colony it encompasses the process of settlement; however this is done whilst also accentuating the process of 'exploration' and 'discovery', which were closely involved in the process of colonisation (see section 1.8.1). This exploration and discovery can also be translated not only to the colonisation of the actual land itself but also to what the land held, new peoples and cultures as well as natural and man-made environments. Exploration was linked directly to Empire, both practices originating from motives of wealth, control and knowledge and in this way supporting each other in defining, exploiting, and acquiring territory. Exploration could actually be used as an index of colonial expansion, Britain maintaining a high level of exploratory activity throughout its period of Empire. It was Empire that created these exploratory opportunities, allowing oceans

and rivers to be charted and continental interiors to be explored. The outcomes of these explorations, for example, the organisms which were discovered, were then introduced into imperial culture through a number of media, including museums (Stafford 1999).

One of the attractions of this material was its exotic nature, or its uniqueness and difference. This also fits in with the idea of the colonial Other, as expressed by authors such as Fanon (1967a) and Said (1978), which has been emphasised in Hall's definition. This is based on binary logic, which means seeing things in pairs or opposites, setting up a relationship of dominance between colonial power and the colonised. For example, the colonisers were seen as civilized, hard-working and inventive, but the colonised as barbaric, lazy and imitative. This again conjures up the idea of difference, which was translated to the museum. Pearce (1995: 308-351) suggests that the collection of material belonging to the Other allowed Europeans to confirm the superior views they held of themselves through the comparison of their own culture to these other cultures. Within the museum, the display and classification of material culture from Africa in particular was used to emphasize the differences of the colonial Other, with Africa and its inhabitants portrayed as savage, threatening and exotic (Coombes 1994: 109-160).

The definition then goes on to exert the consequences of this 'domination' and unlike Loomba's definition it gives a greater sense of change after the initial act of colonisation. This term 'domination' is important in terms of nineteenth-century collecting, as many of the objects which are now held by British museums were a direct by-product of this domination. The many Benin bronzes which are now located in the British Museum and World Museum Liverpool, the majority of which were looted after the capture and destruction of Benin city, are a good example of the power of domination which the British possessed and used (Coombes 1994: 7-28).

1.3.2 Imperialism

The words colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably and substituted for one another. Imperialism has been described as a form of capitalism in a global sense. Loomba (1998: 6) distinguishes the two as follows:

> ...colonialism as the take over of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system.

Another way of distinguishing them is to separate them spatially. Imperialism, originating in the metropolis, leads to domination and control, so that a consequence of imperial domination is colonialism:

> thus the imperial country is the 'metropole' from which power flows, and the colony or neo-colony is the place which it penetrates and controls. (Loomba 1998: 7)

Said (1993: 8) also takes this view and distinguishes the two by describing imperialism as the means, practice, theory and attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory, and colonialism as the consequence of this imperialism, that is, the implanting of settlements on distant territory. In modern Europe, colonialism which grew alongside capitalism became known as a specialised and specific form of imperialism. In both cases these definitions imply the dominance of the coloniser over the colonised, as does the definition of colonialism by Hall (2000: 5) discussed above. Bearing this point in mind, for the purpose of this study, the act of colonialism and the idea of imperialism will be used interchangeably.

1.4 The British Empire in the nineteenth century

The British Empire played an important part in world history having had a profound effect, both positive and negative which is still evident today (see section 1.1). This section outlines how this came to be the case, highlighting the development of the British Empire, before going on to look at how the people of Britain became directly involved in its cause, as employees of the armed forces, missionaries and migrants.

The British Empire was well established by the nineteenth century. It originated as an 'American Empire', when in 1715 it consisted of only four significant towns: Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Charleston (Simmons 1976). However, with over three centuries of prosperity and expansion, the Empire reached its peak in population and territory in 1933, covering 12.2 million square miles (23.85% of the world's land surface) with a population of 502 million – around a quarter of the world's population (Fieldhouse 1982: 242). By 1815 Great Britain had acquired the largest empire the world had ever seen, encompassing 43 colonies over five continents which continued to expand over the next century (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). For a timetable of major events occurring from the discovery of Australia, to World War I, see Table 1.1.

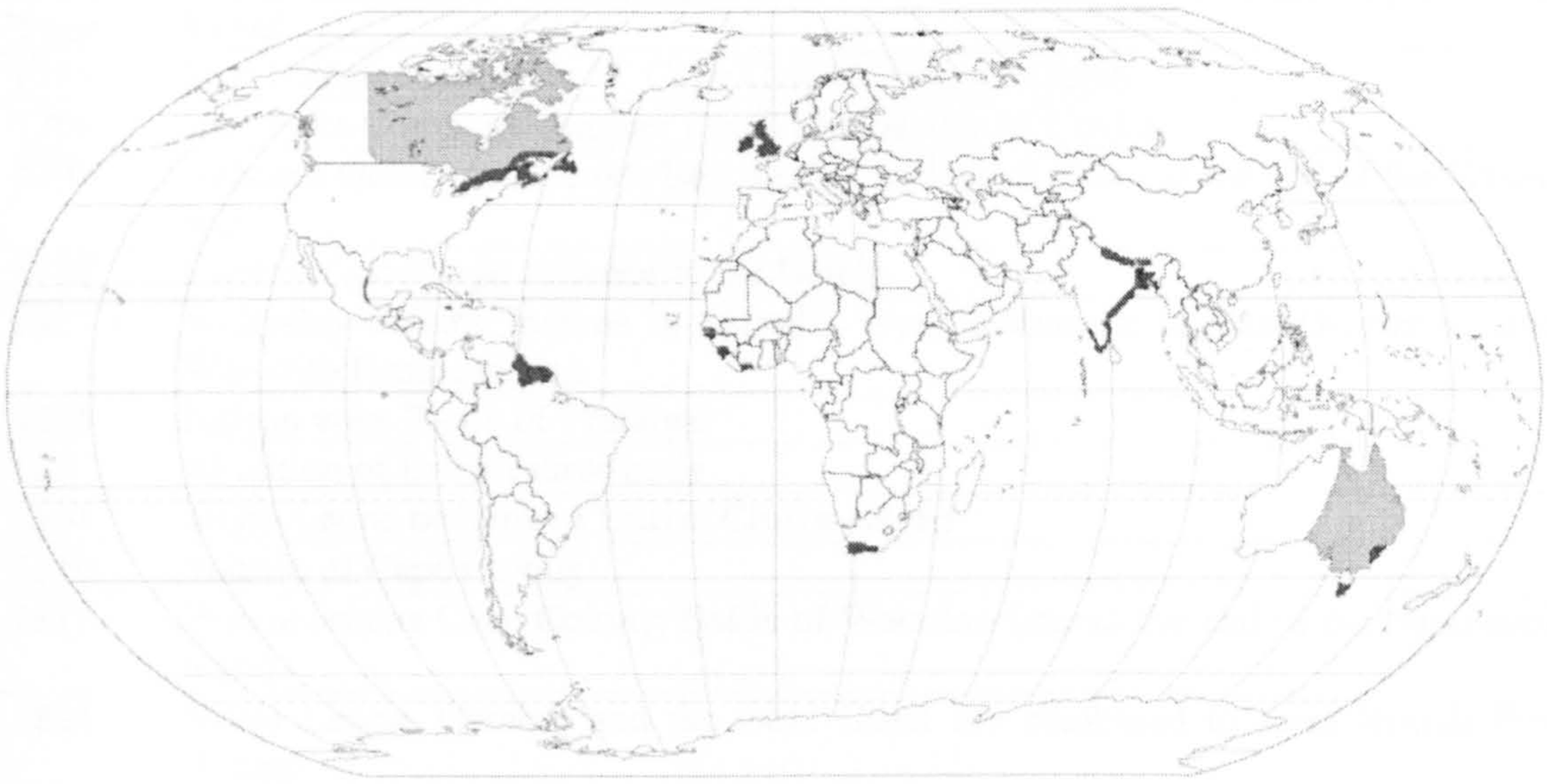

Figure 1.2 The British Empire in 1815 (taken from Porter 1999a: 2) showing British territory (dark shading) and territory claimed by Britain but not settled (light shading).

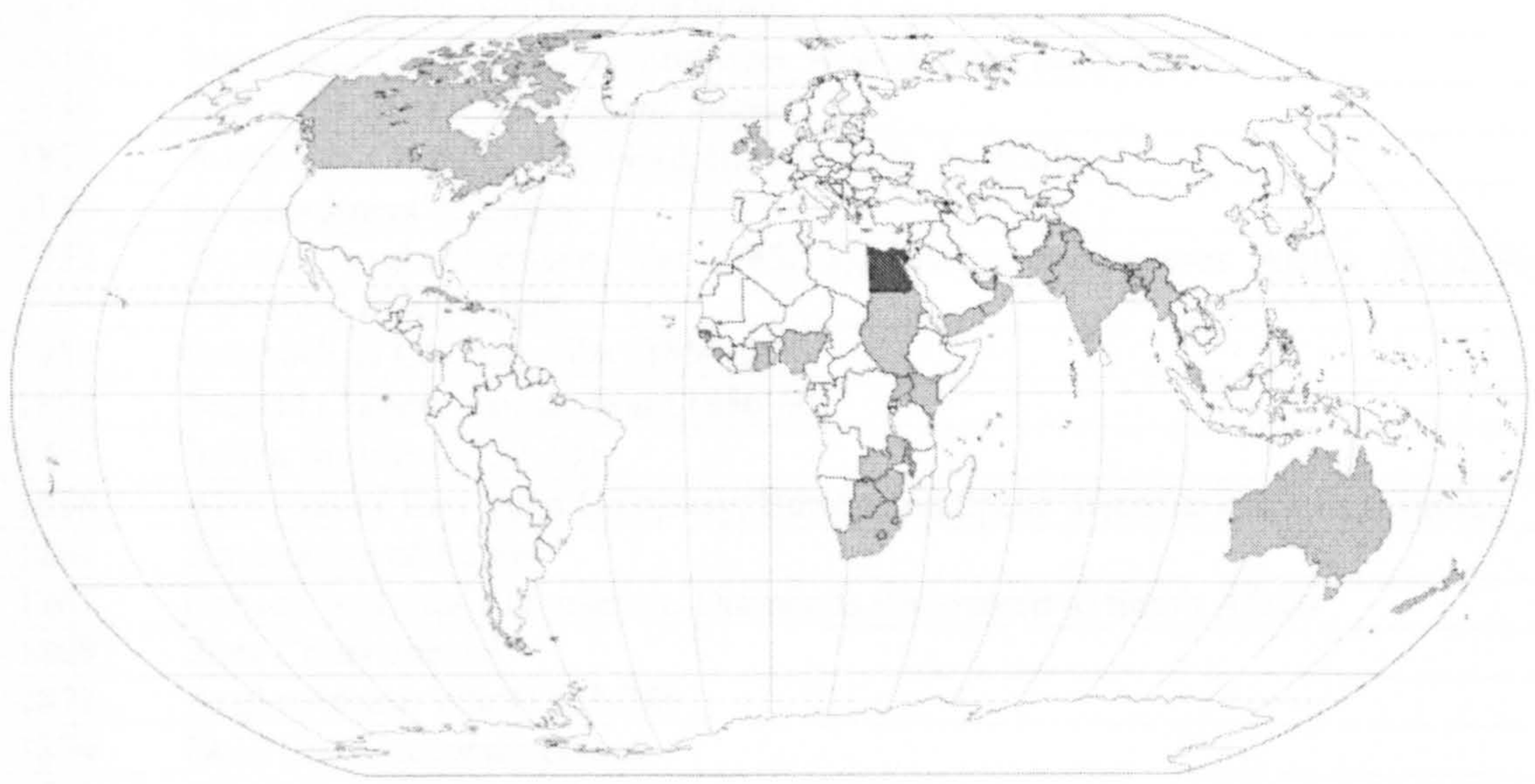

Figure 1.3 The British Empire in 1914 (adapted from Porter 1999a: 3) showing areas of the British Empire and Commonwealth (light shading) and Ottoman territories under British control (dark shading).

Table 1.1 *Major events associated with the rise and fall of the British Empire (taken from Porter 1999a: 712-741; Fieldhouse 1982).*

Year	Event
1768	Cook's voyage to Australia and New Zealand (1768-71)
1772	Cook's second voyage to the Pacific (1772-75)
1775	American war of Independence (1775-83)
1776	Cook's third voyage to the Pacific (1776-79)
1788	The arrival of the first convict ships at Botany Bay; African Association founded to explore the interior of Africa
1793	War against France; First free settlers arrive in Australia

Year	Event
1795	First British occupation of Cape Colony from the Dutch
1796	East India Company conquer Dutch coastal area of Ceylon
1799	Nelson's victory at Aboukir Bay; Defeat of Tipu Sultan and the end of the Mysore war
1802	Cape of Good hope returned to the Dutch
1803	Wellesley defeats Indians in Maratha War; Settlement in Van Diemen's Land; War with France begins
1805	Nelson wins Battle of Trafalgar
1807	Abolition of British slave trade
1808	Sierra Leone becomes a British Crown colony
1810	Seizure of Cape Colony
1815	Britain retains Cape Colony; Battle of Waterloo (marks the end of the Napoleonic wars)
1821	Sierra Leone, Gambia and the Gold Coast are combined to form British West Africa
1822	Discovery of a tea bush growing wild in India ends Chinese monopoly
1823	First Anglo-Burmese War (1823-24); British merchants establish post at Natal
1826	British settlement established in Western Australia
1836	South Australia becomes a province
1838	Myall creek massacre in New South Wales; Battle of Blood River in South Africa
1839	First Opium War in China (1839-42)
1844	Resumption of Imperial control over West African settlements
1846	War of the Axe, Cape Colony begins
1850	Australian Colonies Act; Gold discovered in Australia
1851	Bombardment of Lagos
1852	Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-5), Livingstone crosses Africa (1852-56), Transvaal Independent
1854	Outbreak of Crimean War (1854-56)
1856	Second Chinese Opium War (1856-60)
1857	Indian Mutiny (1857-58)
1858	Abolition of East India Company; Burton and Speke discover Lake Tanganyika
1861	Annexation of Lagos
1867	Canada becomes a Dominion; Diamonds discovered in South Africa
1869	Suez Canal opened
1873	Anglo-Asante War (1873-74)
1874	Gold Coast becomes colony
1875	Britain buys Suez canal shares
1876	Victoria becomes Empress of India
1879	Anglo-Zulu War
1882	Occupation of Egypt
1884	Berlin conference to discuss colonisation
1885	Burma fully occupied; Gold discovered in Transvaal; British Protectorates over Niger Coast and Bechuanaland
1886	Royal Niger Co. Charter;
1887	British East Africa Co. charter awarded; Zululand becomes protectorate
1889	British South Africa Co. Charter awarded; Rhodesia established
1893	Matabele War
1894	Uganda becomes protectorate
1895	East African protectorate
1896	Sudan War (1896-99)
1897	Destruction of Benin city
1899	Boer War (1899-1902)

Year	Event
1900	Rising in Asante, West Africa; British Protectorate over Northern Nigeria
1901	Federated Commonwealth of Australia formed; British protectorates in Nigeria
1902	Treaty of Vereeniging ends Boer War; Ashanti territory incorporated into Gold Coast
1905	British New Guinea transferred to Australia
1907	New Zealand gains Dominion status;
1910	Union of South Africa
1914	Egypt becomes British Protectorate

The period of time between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was one of great change for the British Empire. The three main events causing this change were, firstly the American Revolution (1775-1783) (Heale 1986; Countryman 1985), which resulted in loss of territory and enthusiasm on the part of British colonial endeavour; secondly, the British conquests made in the Inter-European wars (1756-1815) (Black 1994) and finally the conquest of India (which began in 1750 with the capture of Calcutta by Robert Clive), arguably one of the most important British colonies (Lyall 1894). By the 1820s their territory had greatly increased, 26% of the world population was British ruled (Bayly 1989: 3). The colonisation of India was particularly important as it was the greatest colony in terms of size and population, providing Britain with both political and military power. It was acquired by defending their trade and consolidating initial footholds, being first occupied and governed by the East India Company (Lawson 1993). The British only had to preserve and improve what they inherited from the Moguls, the previous rulers of India, to become one of the greatest territorial powers in the East, maintaining an army of some 150,000 (Lyall 1894; Fieldhouse 1982; for further information on the colonisation of India see section 3.2.3).

The British Empire of the nineteenth century has been described as a new era of Empire by both historians and postcolonial theorists (Fieldhouse 1982: 72-83; Young 2001: 17; Loomba 1998: 3). Fieldhouse (1982: 72-83) identifies the 'old' empire prior to the nineteenth century as an empire where European settlers occupied territory to make use of local resources, and the 'new' empire of the nineteenth century as an empire constructed for war and strategic reasons:

> Almost all new possessions related to British naval power or commerce, or were strategically important for the safety of existing British colonies. Most had little intrinsic value for trade, production or settlement. (Fieldhouse 1982: 77)

He uses a number of categories to explain the differences: economical and political differences, inevitability, geographical extent and time taken to acquire. Fieldhouse (1982: 9) sums up the most crucial comparison:

> The first empires represented European ambition, determination and ingenuity in using limited resources rather than European predominance throughout the world.

Young (2001: 17) on the other hand gives a more spatial context dividing colonialism into two forms; colonies which were established as predominantly places of settlement such as British North America, Australia and New Zealand and those without significant settlement which were established for economic exploitation, for example, the American Philippines and British India. This immediately highlights the different types of colony that existed, and again reinforces that the British established different relationships and ways of ruling. Loomba (1998: 3) describes the difference between this new type or modern colonialism with the previous as:

> more than extract tribute, goods and wealth from the countries it conquered – it restructured the economies of the latter, drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between colonised and colonial countries.

Good examples of the 'flow of human and natural resources' include the slave trade and the shipping of raw materials to be manufactured and, in the opposite direction, the need of colonised countries for these manufactured goods. This two-way process ensured the movement of both the colonised and colonisers: the coloniser in the form of administrators, soldiers, diplomats, merchants, settlers, travellers, writers, domestic staff, missionaries, teachers and scientists and the colonised as slaves, labourers, domestic servants, travellers and traders (Loomba 1998: 4). It is this movement of people, especially the coloniser, which accompanied colonialism that is imperative to this project. The remainder of this section will highlight three groups of people, missionaries, armed forces and migrants, all of whom were heavily involved in this 'flow of human resources' between the motherland and the colony.

1.4.1 Missionaries

Spreading Christianity was very often a part of colonisation; British missionaries of all denominations took the Christian religion throughout the Empire. It was seen as the clergyman's duty to go and spread the gospel throughout the world, members of the clergy accompanying colonial ventures for the beneficial moral value they would bring (Armstrong 2000: 154-170). Many clergymen were employed by missionary societies (for example the London Missionary Society [1795] and the Anglican Church Missionary Society [1799]) and

sent out to Africa, the Caribbean, South America, the Far East, Australia and the Pacific to accomplish this mission. By 1900 some 10,000 missionaries had been sent out to convert the non-Christian world (Porter 1999b: 222). Some spent their entire life in one place, some travelled, and some travelled with time in between spent back at home in England. Travelling was quite a dominant part of their job, as many of their destinations were widely scattered.

Although they made relatively little impression in places where advanced religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam dominated, even in those areas their converts numbered several millions (Armstrong 2000; Porter 1999b). The role of the missionary has been criticised by many, as by converting the colonised to Christianity they were in fact persuading many indigenous groups to abandon their traditional religions. Tiberondwa (1998: 82) accuses them of 'cultural imperialism' as they suppressed native culture replacing it with a European culture. British Christianity growth outside Europe paralleled the expansion of Empire and interacted with it, for example, in many countries infiltrated by European missionaries, the spreading of Christianity was often accompanied by the introduction of Western education and the carrying out of governmental colonial policies, another form of cultural imperialism (Porter 1999b; Tiberondwa 1998).

1.4.2 Armed forces

The armed forces were a vital tool in both acquiring and maintaining the British Empire, the Royal Navy for example had the role of defending against invasion and protecting global commercial interest. It was often the military garrisons overseas that commanded priority. The use of the army abroad was well practiced since the Seven Years War (1756-63). British troops were stationed in each colonial acquisition, equating to 22 colonies in 1793, 34 in 1820 and 45 in 1846 (Burroughs 1999: 323-324). This illustrates that as time progressed and more colonies were incorporated into the Empire, the British Army were given the opportunity to be located in a wider variety of places. By 1846, 45,000 people were employed in the navy and 100,600 in the army and a large proportion of these were stationed in the colonies, for example, of the 103 infantry regiments in the 1830s, 79 were stationed abroad or in transit and only 24 in Britain (Figure 1.4 [*ibid.*: 321]; note that India especially had a large number of troops garrisoned there, 69,647 in 1881). These numbers fluctuated owing to two main factors - the economy at home (dictating how much money the British Government could afford to spend on defence) and circumstances abroad. For example, during the Indian Mutiny, British forces in India increased by a third to 60,000 (*ibid.*: 326). The armed forces provided employment to a variety of different people, the majority of these were soldiers and

sailors, but would also include those of a higher rank, such as officers, as well as surgeons and administrators.

1.4.3 Migrants

During the period of 1815 to 1914, 22.6 million individuals left the British Isles to start a new life elsewhere (Harper 1999: 75). British emigrants played a prominent role in the peopling of their colonies such as in Canada, the United States and Australia. (for figures of migration to Australasia and South Africa 1853-1920 see Table 1.2 [Cain 1999: 47]). The expansion of Empire and improved communications gave them ample opportunities to leave their homes and settle in a different place. Migration was influenced by a number of factors, including the possibility of economic and religious freedom, encouragement from friends and family and local circumstances (Ferguson 2003; Harper 1999). During the nineteenth century, migration was encouraged due to Malthusian ideas (solving problems of overpopulation), as well as the need to populate and improve the development of Britain's possessions. In some cases migration was subsidised by government or assisted by national and provincial charities and self-help groups (Harper 1999).

Table 1.2 *Emigration from England, Wales and Scotland (Taken from Cain 1999: 47).*

Year	Australasia	South Africa
1853-1860	273,100	12,700
1861-1870	184,400	12,100
1871-1880	241,500	46,700
1881-1890	317,300	76,100
1891-1900	116,200	160,000
1901-1910	218,900	269,800
1911-1920	352,600	94,100
1853-1920	*1,704,000*	*671,500*

Australia received a large number of migrants through the availability of assisted passage by nomination, the implementation of bounties, and agency propaganda. The gold discoveries of the 1850s and 1860s acted as a major influence on the steady flow of migrants to both Australia and New Zealand during this period (Ward 1975: 97-125). Australia also received migrants in the form of convicts. After its discovery it was decided that Australia was to be established as a penal colony. Owing to Britain's defeat in the American Revolution, Britain no longer had access to North American colonies to which criminals were normally sent. This caused British prisons to fill up rapidly, so Australia was seen as a perfect

place to send these convicts and thereby relieve the pressure on prisons in Britain (Judd 1997: 29-39). Convicts were sent to Australia for over 50 years, from 1788 to 1867, between 1788 and 1853 approximately 123,000 male and 25,000 female convicts were transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). Over 88% arrived after 1815, half being sent for 7 years, and a quarter for life (Harper 1999: 78; Cain 1999: 46). This eventually stopped as British prisons had enough space to house convicts and because the convicts in Australia were interfering and causing problems with the free settlers who were increasing in number (Judd 1997: 29-39). In comparison to Australia the emigration rate to South Africa was quite low (Table 1.2; Cain 1999: 47), the peak in 1891-1910 was mainly owing to economic incentives - mineral discoveries and assisted settlement - following the South African War (Harper 1999).

This section has highlighted British relations, through colonisation, to other nations in the world, and discussed the opportunities of travel which this gave to the British population. During the same period, Britain experienced a sudden increase in museum establishment. The following sections will go on to examine this phenomenon, in particular the collecting crazes which accompanied the rise in museum establishment. This will then be related to the opportunities of travel offered by Empire as previously discussed.

1.5 Growth of the provincial museum during the nineteenth century

1.5.1 Learned societies

While Britain was making its mark throughout the world with the growth of its Empire in the nineteenth century, significant social and political changes were occurring back in Britain (Thompson 1988; Black 1970). These social and political changes had an impact on the development of municipal museums. The nineteenth century was a time of great educational reform. Beginning with the Education Bill in 1833, the government showed its commitment to education and slowly, as the century progressed, developed a free education system for all children (Lawson & Silver 1973; Digby & Searby 1981). Schools, colleges and universities were not the only educational institutions which became more widespread throughout the century; a number of learned societies were also formed under this remit. The scale of scientific societies during this period was unprecedented, some 500 existing in Britain by the end of the nineteenth century (Allen 1976b: 518). These included natural history societies, literary and philosophical societies, mechanics institutions and field clubs, as well as more specialist bodies such as microscopical societies. The nineteenth century is often referred to as the 'Age of Societies' (Naylor 2002: 496).

The literary and philosophical societies were the 'fathers' of all these organisations, created by the wealthy middle-class men of the town to promote knowledge and progress, whilst fulfilling a newfound sense of civic pride. They acted as a medium for social interaction and a sign of the power of the middle class (Knell 2000: 52). A general model of these societies is as follows; to join a literary and philosophical society, people would pay subscriptions and agree to abide by the formal rules of the society. The organisation delivered public meetings, published accounts, staged lecture programmes and formed libraries, as well as creating displayed collections within a museum. The lectures and meetings would cover a number of topical subject matters, from natural history to philanthropy, the subjects of ethics, politics and religion however were banned (e.g. Alberti 2003a: 344-347).

These societies were formed in two waves, the first of which was in the 1780s; the primary concerns of these societies were their libraries and lecture series. The second wave came in the 1820s and had a much stronger emphasis on the collections, with the societies actively encouraging people to donate specimens/objects to their museum (e.g. Alberti 2002: 298). A number of societies belonging to this second wave had museum buildings constructed to house their collections. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (1818) erected a purpose built building for their collection in 1821 (see chapter 8), the Yorkshire Society erected the Yorkshire Museum which opened in 1829, and in 1828 the Rotunda Museum was built by the Scarborough Philosophical Society (Brears 1984: 7-10). It was often personal collecting which gave rise to the collections which became the roots of the collections of learned societies, such as in the case of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (1781), Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (1793) (see section 7.1.1) and the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society (1822) (Alberti 2002). It is quite interesting to plot the varied routes of these society collections, as many are still the basis of provincial museums today, even though many people do not realise that this is the case. For example, the collection of the Manchester Natural History Society (1821) became part of the Manchester University Museum (*ibid.:* 307-308), whilst the collection of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society (1822) was transferred to the municipality (*ibid.*: 305). These cultural institutions played an integral role in the development of regional towns and cities acting as a 'statement of pride for people excluded from national structures of power and debate' (Waterfield 1998: 22). The end of the nineteenth century saw the decline of these societies (Alberti 2003: 351-352), a number of them, such as the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, gave their museums over to the municipality (Alberti 2002: 305; see section 1.5.2 for information on municipal museums).

The rise in popularity of natural history as a social activity during the nineteenth century (see section 1.6) fuelled the formation of another type of society, the natural history society. Their main interest was of a scientific nature, often with emphasis on carrying out

fieldwork in the local area. Resembling literary and philosophical societies and often an offshoot from them, natural history societies frequently had a museum associated with them which in many cases formed an important element of the societies, both as a way to attract visitors and advance scientific knowledge. They promoted knowledge, both natural and cultural, of the local area, which in turn contributed to civic pride (Withers & Finnegan 2003; Naylor 2002; Withers 2001). These societies (as well as philosophical societies) have been described as making 'an overt cultural statement that would affect external perceptions of the town' (Knell 2000: 52). There has been a considerable amount of research carried out on nineteenth-century natural history societies, which has provided valuable insights into; the role they played in designating local areas with the status of national scientific importance (Naylor 2002), promoting a popular awareness, understanding and involvement of science (Shapin 1972) and nature conservation (Davis 1996), modernising and developing the collections of gentlemen naturalists (Secord 1994), highlighting (and in many cases creating) cultural identities for the hitherto culturally unrecognised proletariat, with a particular focus on local civic and industrial cultures (Morrell 1983) and in establishing science professionals (Alberti 2001a).

1.5.2 Municipal museums

Whilst these society museums were often formed and managed by the push of middle class and civic elite of local towns and cities (Alberti 2002: 310; Hill 2005), the government also decided that the formation of museums within the provinces was a good idea. During the age of industrialisation, there was a large migration of people from London to other towns and cities in England (Black & Macraild 2003: 68-71). The government decided that these working class people should have the opportunity to extend their knowledge and one way to do this was through the establishment of museums. In this era of educational reform, museums could be used to educate the general public, and the government encouraged this by introducing the Museums Act in 1845, allowing local authorities (with a population of over 10,000) to levy a rate to finance museums (Lewis 1992b: 27). This was quickly adopted by a number of local authorities, including Sunderland (1846) and Bolton (1852). As well as employing the museum as an educational tool, it has been suggested the government also had other plans on how to utilise the museum as an agent of social control (Bennett 1995).[5] Hill (2005) however presents evidence which strongly suggests that nineteenth-century provincial

[5] Bennett's Foucaldian interpretation of museums has received criticism. For example, Witcomb (2003) argues that social control was not the only role that museums played, but that it has to be looked at alongside other forces such as popular culture, consumerism and economy.

museums were not simply tools to discipline the working class, but were also used by the middle class to display and define their identities, as well as a suitable leisure activity.

Municipal museums have been recorded as having a number of objectives: offering 'scientific reference' and 'comprehensive and easily accessible education', 'reforming behaviour', acting as an 'economic resource' and declaring the 'culture and civic identity' of its town (Hill 2005: 146). The extent to which these were realised and the weighting they received was not the same at each municipal museums, but depended on local agendas and competition between rival groups (curators, scientific societies, councillors and so on), each vying to use the museum to legitimise their cause (*ibid.*).

Society and municipal museums were not the only museums to be found in the provinces. A number of provincial towns were home to both commercial (e.g. Liverpool Museum of Natural and Foreign Curiosities, Calvert's Museum, Leeds and Robert Dunn's Museum, Hull; see Brears & Davis 1989: 9-15) and private museums (e.g. the Ruskin Museum, Sheffield [Brears & Davis 1989: 44-45], and Charles Waterton's Museum at Walton Hall [Carroll 2004]).

1.5.3 The collecting craze

Unquestionably, the museum would not exist without its collections and it was in the nineteenth century that a new found craze of collecting developed and assisted the success of English provincial museums. More people were making collections than ever before, including the government, universities/schools, learned societies (national and international), scholars, scientists, trading companies and professional collectors. The gaining of knowledge was one of the great themes of the nineteenth century. It was believed that by expanding one's knowledge, an act of self-improvement was taking place. Self-improvement was a classic creed of the Victorians and was encouraged by publications such as Samuel Smiles' (1812-1904) *Self-Help* (1859) (Black and Macraild 2003: 262-263).

The gaining of knowledge through collecting (and hence improving oneself) could be seen on a number of scales, both national, which included overseas expeditions which gave increased knowledge of other countries (for example the numerous voyages of exploration which occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; see section 1.8.1), and local, for example the establishment of natural history societies which encouraged the study of local natural history (Withers & Finnegan 2003; Naylor 2002). Collecting fitted within this theme perfectly as the collection of objects/specimens, whether they were natural history, archaeological or ethnographic, all played a part in knowledge production. Through the collection of natural history, antiquities and material culture the past could be revealed:

> History became a central paradigm for knowledge in the nineteenth century. European society became fascinated with the past: historical novels and cultural tourism became popular, museums were built, natural history was invigorated as a hobby and a science, architectural historicism prevailed and historical studies gained a new status. (Griffiths 1996: 11)

During the Victorian era, collecting was seen as a respectable pastime for a number of reasons. It was a healthy recreation which was morally uplifting and would bring amusement as well as spiritual enlightenment (see section 1.6.1). This was also a time of massive social change, a drift to urban living began and a tremendous generation of wealth allowed some people a degree of leisure time, therefore more time to carry out hobbies such as collecting. Gathering, possessing, classifying and cataloguing therefore became even more popular (Griffiths 1996; Barber 1980; Allen 1976a). The philosophy behind collecting had evolved since the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, people no longer just wanted a selection of curiosities which would amaze people, such as the cabinets of curiosities of the past, each object having its own story (Impey & MacGregor 2001); rather, they wanted complete collections with full classifications. During the nineteenth century there was a proliferation of taxonomic and classificatory systems in all fields of study from art, Gustav Friedrich Waagen's (1794-1868) classification system which used both chronology and geography to illustrate the influence of styles and techniques (Whitehead 2005: 18), to archaeology, Christian Jurgenson Thomsen (1788-1865) who developed a classification based on three successive ages, of stone, bronze and iron (Murray 1904: 232-233), to natural history, Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) extended the classification scheme of Linnaeus, using the internal organisation of organisms rather than external characteristics (Outram 1984: 38-39 & 120-123). These classification systems were used by museums and galleries to categorise and display objects and specimens. The emphasis on the objects was their ability to give a historical narrative; they were no longer wanted for their curiosity value (Griffiths 1996: 11).

This thesis is concerned with both natural history and ethnography. It is important therefore to have an understanding of the development of these scientific disciplines in relation to collecting throughout the nineteenth century. The following sections will concentrate on the progress of natural history and ethnography (and anthropology) during this period giving an understanding of how their development affected popular attitudes towards the collection of material culture and natural material, as well as their role in the development of museums.

1.6 The development of natural history during the nineteenth century

The nineteenth century was a key period in the development of natural history. During this time it became highly popular as both an individual pastime and an organised pursuit. This popularity ties in very conveniently with the contemporary mania for forming collections. Barber (1980) defines the period of 1820 to 1870 as the 'heyday' of natural history and Lloyd (1985: 11-18) describes the nineteenth century as the 'Golden Age of the naturalists'. During this time, natural history was a popular passion. Allen (1976a, b: 516) identifies the 1860s and 1870s as the peak in popularity and national obsession, in drastic comparison to the previous century when the subject was neglected, even despised. The British nation as a whole had a very deep constant enthusiasm for natural history; this enthusiasm was seen in all sections of society, from aristocrats to artisans. Within this deep rooted enthusiasm were a number of trends from national crazes such as seaweeds, ferns and aquaria, to more local ones (Allen 1996). There are a number of combining factors which all contributed to its rise popularity which will now be discussed.

1.6.1. Rational amusement

The collection of natural history specimens proved popular in this era. It offered a hobby, which at this point the middle class was desperate for. However, it was not just like any other hobby as it not only offered a means of entertainment such as going to the theatre, but was also useful, morally uplifting and healthy. It was useful as it was scientific, considered morally uplifting because it enabled one to study God's creation, and healthy as it encouraged people to spend time outdoors, as well as appealing to an innate desire to collect. Owing to all these positive attributes which the study of natural history brought, its adoption was encouraged by everyone in society, no matter what their class, age or gender; particularly by the working class as for them it was not only a form of rational but, more importantly, of innocent amusement. It was seen to be better for the working-classes to spend their spare time chasing butterflies, than drinking, fighting or gambling (Barber 1980: 13-26).

1.6.2 Classification

During this period the finding of new species was the highest goal to which naturalists aspired. To do this it was important that a classification system existed allowing these new species to be identified and named. This classification was possible because of the invention

of a system of classification, by Carl von Linnaeus (1707-1778), called binomial nomenclature whereby any plant or animal could be identified and slotted into an overall plan. During this period Linnaeus' system gave natural history a new found drive and rationale, classification being the foremost concern of the majority of naturalists. This encouraged the popular practice of natural history, as the layman could easily contribute through the collection and naming of new species. The discovery of new species gave the naturalist self-satisfaction as well as local and sometimes international admiration (Barber 1980: 47-56; Allen 1976a: 40-43).

1.6.3 Communication

One of the major factors contributing to the popularity of natural history was the accessibility of the subject, which in this case was not dependent on class, gender or address, unlike many other activities of the time. The subject was accessible to the layman, who did not have to understand and apply difficult and complex theories to the subject. There was no option to graduate from university with a degree in natural history,[6] and very few universities had readers or professors in the subject. This added to the appeal of the subject as it meant that anyone could become a naturalist, at any time and any place, with no pressure from the professional (this is in stark contrast to the idea that an appreciation of art led to moral improvement, and hence reinforced the idea that the lower classes were socially inferior; see for example, Hooper-Greenhill 1992 and Bennett 1995). However, although natural history was not an academic subject in its own right, the degree of medicine placed a strong emphasis on natural history in the form of botany and comparative physiology and anatomy (Barber 1980: 30-31). Many of these trained medics went on to become famous natural historians, for example George Johnston (1797-1855) and Francis Day (1829-89) (for more information on Francis Day see section 1.8.3).

Natural history texts were widely available, including both popular texts which were accessible to all, as well as more comprehensive guides written for the more serious amateur naturalist. The popular texts were appealing as they were light-hearted and often amusing, in some cases compromising accuracy (Lloyd 1985: 14; Allen 1976a: 138-139). For example, Philip Henry Gosse published a number of popular texts such as *Popular British Ornithology* (1853) and *A Handbook to the Marine Aquarium* (1856). The texts written for the more serious naturalist however, were much more scientific. Many of them were aimed at natural historians who practiced in specific geographical areas. For example George Johnston wrote a

[6] Natural history however was very much part of the curriculum for religion and medicine.

number of publications on the natural history of the northeast such as *Flora of Berwick-upon-Tweed* (1829) and *The Botany of the Eastern Borders* (1853) and Rev. George Young who was heavily involved in the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society published a *Geological Survey of the Yorkshire Coast* in 1822 (Browne 1946: 18-24).

Natural history was not only accessible in terms of intellect, but also in terms of cost and location of activity. For example, the materials needed to carry out the pursuit were few and relatively inexpensive, such as boxes, pins and nets (Larsen 1996). The advent of the steam driven printing presses at the beginning of the nineteenth century meant that books were becoming cheaper allowing them to become accessible to most of the population (Black & Macraild 2003: 24). Another advantage was that naturalists could carry out activities wherever he or she happened to be, for example in the town, or countryside or by the sea. The advent of the penny post also allowed communication between naturalists of different classes (Barber 1980: 38-39).

Travel became much cheaper, more efficient and increasingly comfortable through the invention of Macadam's tar surfacing and the expansion of the railways. This increased the areas within which people could pursue natural history, for example, those who were living in increasingly industrialised towns could have access to the seaside and countryside which were very popular areas to practice natural history, as well as much further afield (see section 1.8). Naturalists no longer had to work in relative isolation from each other's encouragement and ideas. However, with the improvement in communications came an increase in competitiveness amongst collectors (Lloyd 1985: 14-15; Allen 1976a: 122-124 & 224-243).

1.6.4 Formation of societies

Learned societies established in the nineteenth century (see section 1.5.1) played a part in the popularising of natural history. During this time a number of specialist societies were born, both national societies, for example the Zoological Society of London (1826), the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1831) and the Botanical Society of London (1836), as well as local societies. By the middle of the century more specialised societies, such as the British Ornithologists Union (1858) were thriving. Although many local societies encouraged the pursuit of natural history, they were often quite exclusive, as subscriptions were compulsory in order to become a member. For example, in the case of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society there was an annual subscription of 10s. 6d and an admission subscription of two guineas (Browne 1946: 14). Also, even if the working-class could join, the facilities of the societies such as museums and libraries were often closed in

the evenings and weekends when the working-class were free, although there were exceptions (see Brears [1984: 14] for an example of the opening hours of Yorkshire museums).

Natural history societies and field clubs promoted active field work and used the products of this to form local collections and furnish museums (see section 1.5.1). Societies encouraged the collection and the donation of material; not only local collections, but material from much further afield, including the British colonies, which societies were happy to receive (see section 1.8.5). Society collections grew mostly through donations and less frequently through purchase, and therefore they were reliant on people donating their collections (Brears 1984: 15). For example, the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society (1830) encouraged the growth of collections by automatically making those who donated material worth over £20 trustees (*ibid.*: 6). At Wakefield Literary and Philosophical Society (1827) a similar incentive was given, allowing those who deposited valuable collections to have free admission to the museum for the following year (*ibid.*). An important component of societies was the production of publications. A number of societies published their own transactions or proceedings which consisted of the results of scientific research carried out by its members. These publications were often exchanged with other societies, not only provincial but national and international (Alberti 2003: 348), and this no doubt promoted the work of the society as well as the status of individual naturalists.

Society museums were not the only places where foreign material could be viewed by the public. Zoological gardens and menageries both held collections of foreign animals, but unlike the majority of museums specimens, they were alive. The former however were established on a more educational basis, for example, the Zoological Society of London, two years after its foundation, established a zoological garden in Regent's Park to help advance zoology and animal physiology (Blunt 1976: 9). However, this does not mean that they were not popular with the public. Like museums and menageries they allowed people to experience animals which before they only knew through pictures and stories and it was often the charismatic megafauna from the colonies which caused the most excitement and amazement (*ibid.*: 10). For example, the arrival of four giraffes to London Zoo in 1836 attracted 263,392 visitors (*ibid.*: 36). Travelling menageries were established purely to entertain. One of the most successful menageries was owned by George Wombwell (1778-1850) (Middlemiss 1987). Although not known for their educational value, Wombwell was the first to display a live gorilla in England in 1855, even before London Zoo. However, he did not realise what it was until it died (Blunt 1976: 135). Other menageries competed with Wombwell's Menagerie, such as Atkins' Menagerie (Atkins went on to establish Liverpool Zoological Gardens; see section 6.2.6). Owners used the animals in a variety of ways in order to attract visitors. For example, visitors were allowed to ride on elephants and Wombwell even organised a fight between his lions and some dogs (Middlemiss 1987: 10; Blunt 1976: 16).

1.6.5 Visual application

The affiliation between nature and art in the nineteenth century played an important role in the development of the natural history collecting craze. The visual appeal of many natural objects such as shells and flowers encouraged them to be imported into the home and used for decorative purposes, enhancing natural history's popularity in the early decades of the nineteenth century (Barber 1980: 86). Parlour aquariums, Wardian cases and bell jars filled with stuffed birds and animals were common display items in the Victorian home (Wonders 1989: 135-136). This aesthetic component has been linked to the crazes in natural history, such as the fern craze, which emerged during the nineteenth century (Allen 1969, 1996). Early photographers and artists, such as the renowned John Ruskin (1819-1900), often used natural history specimens as their subjects (e.g. Haworth-Booth 1997). The colonised or the Other were also the subjects of visual culture, the popular press (for example the *Illustrated London News* [2005]) often including illustrations of these people within their publication.

As well as advancing the popularity of natural history within the general population, art was also an important tool for the development of the subject as an intellectual pursuit. Recording the natural environment through pictorial reproductions, rather than by means of verbal descriptions alone, allowed details such as shape, form, proportions and colours to be conveyed accurately at a glance. For example, on voyages of exploration an artist was often employed to record landscapes as well as the local flora and fauna, and often the natives who inhabited the area (e.g. Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771) was the artist employed on Captain Cook's voyage on the *Endeavour*). Visual methods were also widely used in natural history publications. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the mechanical methods of photography were employed and before this period natural history illustrations were completed by hand through techniques such as engraving, etching and lithography, often using collected specimens (often from museums or personal collections) as models. Many eminent naturalists of this era are also known for their artistic skills such as John Audubon (1785-1851) who produced *The Birds of America* (1827-1838), and these publications are admired and regarded both for their high scientific and artistic qualities (Jackson 1985). Some naturalists such as John Gould (Jackson 1987) and William Jardine (Jackson 1994) employed natural history artists to provide illustrations for their publications. Many of these illustrators, in comparisons to the authors of these publications, are not at all well known or renowned as artists today, very little being known about their lives (Jackson 1986).

1.6.6 A demise in popularity

By the end of the nineteenth century, collecting natural history specimens as a recreational activity had seriously diminished and the natural history crazes seen earlier in the century had been almost completely abandoned (Allen 1976a). Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and later his follow-up text, *The Descent of Man* (1871), have been seen as primary contributors to the demise of the widespread enthusiasm for natural history. Although the idea of evolution had been presented earlier in the nineteenth century, none affected naturalists and collectors in the same way as Darwin's radical theory of evolution by means of natural selection. The most important and far-reaching effect was to invalidate natural theology, the subject which for the previous half century had made religion and science compatible, making the study of natural history a more than acceptable pastime for people of all professions and genders (Barber 1980: 291). The *Origin of Species* was an exceptionally dense and fact-packed book and it introduced a new rigour into scientific method. Professional scientists found this new rigour stimulating, but for laymen it was alarming. In the past the layman had been able to make himself an expert in, for example, entomology without necessarily doing anything more than collecting a very large number of insects. But now the entomologist was expected to know not only what his insects looked like, but where they lived, how they behaved, what they ate, how they bred, and how they inter-related with the other species that shared their habitat; this generally meant years of training and practice. The days when a gentleman could, by a little reading, collecting and work at the microscope, keep up-to-date with current natural history research were over (*ibid.*: 289). Darwin demonstrated that a comprehensive classification of all species would never be straightforward, which meant that many could no longer even dream of achieving any definitive classification (*ibid.*: 286).

This led to a new generation of naturalist who worked professionally in the discipline and utilised new techniques developed to carry out scientific studies in the field (Drouin & Bensaude-Vincent 1996). The new attention to field studies was helped by a string of technological advances; prism binoculars as a replacement for guns, the invention of film, flashlights and telephoto lenses which made field studies more precise and therefore more rewarding. These techniques made it possible to record animal behaviour, making field study a serious scientific discipline (Barber 1980: 287). Further to this, new sciences were emerging, such as experimental embryology, which were reliant on highly technical and expensive equipment. This highlights a barrier to the amateur (Nyhart 1996), although it is important to note that this new 'professional' did not eradicate all amateur naturalists, as can be seen today by the fact that a number of natural history societies (which were, and still are, made up of predominantly amateur naturalists) still exist (including the Glasgow Natural History Society [founded as the Natural History Society of Glasgow in 1851] and the Natural

History Society of Northumbria [founded as the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne in 1829]).[7] Furthermore, Alberti (2001a) reveals that amateur naturalists collaborated with lab-based professionals and played an important role in the construction of the professional community in the late nineteenth century. In any case, natural history lost its excitement; once it gained universal respectability and became a school subject (from the 1880s), it lost its charm. By the end of the century, owing to its drop in popularity far fewer people could actually identify the natural objects they enthused over in comparison to the 1850s (Barber 1980: 294).

1.7 The development of ethnography and anthropology during the nineteenth century

The development of ethnography and anthropology cannot be considered without acknowledging the role in which British colonialism played in its development. Both were intimately bound with colonial expansion and encounters with different cultures (Eriksen & Nielsen 2001). Gosden (1999: 16) for example, states that anthropology was an outcome of colonialism, 'the academic reflex of physical attempts to understand and control'. For many thousands of years, travel, trade and exploration gradually brought together people of different languages and cultures, but this process accelerated rapidly during the nineteenth century as the development of the British Empire increased both contact and communication with many cultural societies throughout the world (see section 1.4). This was also a time when travel became popular for its own sake, rather than primarily occurring in association with Empire. Returning travellers told tales of strange cultures and exotic peoples with which they came into contact, and in many cases bore tangible evidence in the material culture collected. It was during this period, in the context of nineteenth-century imperialism, when Western colonial expansion and domination were at their zenith, that the scholarly study of human cultural and biological diversity began to take shape (e.g. Shanklin 1994; Mair 1972; Eriksen & Nielsen 2001). Foundations were laid for the development of scientific disciplines such as anthropology and its many branches, including cultural, social and physical anthropology and ethnography, which are firmly established today. The branch of anthropology which is central to this thesis is that of ethnography; the scientific description of contemporary human societies and in particular their material cultures.

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[7] However, these societies did change; the emphasis on collecting diminished and there was a greater focus on meetings and lectures (for a specific example, see the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; Brears and Davis 1984: 31-32 and chapter 8).

In its infancy ethnography focused on the 'primitive' and began a search for the precursors of modern civilisation. The rapidly expanding Empire provided scholars with what they saw as a unique opportunity to study primitive, indigenous peoples *in situ*, which consequently became the primary focus of the emerging discipline of anthropology. Nineteenth-century anthropologists believed that illiterate, technologically unsophisticated societies which were spatially far-removed from Western Europe, and which were different in terms of their economic and political organisation provided glimpses of humanity at earlier stages of social evolution. They constructed a linear model for the evolution of all human societies, which placed Western man at the top and Aboriginal hunters and gathers at the bottom, illustrating the ethnocentricity of the Victorian era (Tylor 1877: 32). This perception of the primitive dangerously matched the twentieth century notions of Fascism and eugenics (Hargreaves & Hamilton 2001: 84-93).

As it developed, anthropology borrowed extensively from other expanding scientific disciplines such as natural history (notably this included Darwin's model of biological evolution through natural selection) to help understand changes that were happening at a social and cultural level. For example, Darwin's model of biological evolution through natural selection was applied to the sociocultural sphere to illustrate the evolution of types of artefacts from simple to complex; simple societies producing simple technologies and complex societies producing complex technologies (Chapman 1985: 30-33; Gosden 1999: 27). In many ways ethnographers shared a common agenda with natural historians in their desire to collect and describe rare and exotic specimens and to establish general patterns across the evident diversity of ways of human life. However, by the early decades of the twentieth century, ideas of social evolution were beginning to be questioned and so-called primitive societies began to be studied not simply as evidence of earlier stages of social development but as societies in their own right (for a general review on the rise of modern social anthropology see Lewis 1985: 36-67).

1.7.1 Popular and scholarly interest

The formation and development of societies in the nineteenth century can provide particular insight into the popularity and progress of a certain subject (in terms of natural history see section 1.6.4). In the case of anthropology and ethnography the first society formed in England to embrace these disciplines was the Ethnological Society of London, which was founded in 1843 as an academic offshoot of the Aborigine's Protection Society. The Society was dominated by Quakers who, owing to their philanthropic nature, had great concerns for colonial peoples and their treatment. The Society justified their existence by suggesting that

for the wellbeing of the British Empire and its numerous colonies, knowledge of these Other people would be important (Reining 1962: 593).

In the 1860s the membership of the Ethnological Society of London rose dramatically and with it came a change in emphasis towards the importance of artefacts, fuelled predominantly by artefact-orientated members such as Pitt Rivers (for more information on Pitt Rivers see Petch 2001). Before this the Ethnological Society had shown little interest in museums and collections of exotic implements. What was later called 'material culture' was treated simply as an aspect of physical description – clothing and ornaments included with other attributes that distinguished different races. There had been no real attempt to develop a unified theory of technological development or systematically relate the study of artefacts to the broader historical aims of ethnology, although ethnologists from the Society did encourage the development of a national ethnographic collection of Natural and Artificial Curiosities in 1845 as an 'Ethnological Gallery'. The Society never tried to establish a collection of its own and in its early years did not encourage demonstrations of objects, although by the 1860s there were several lectures featuring object presentations (Chapman 1985: 22).

A divide in the Society led to the formation of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863, although many members, including Pitt Rivers, continued to be affiliated with both. This Society also recognised the museum as a potential research tool. However, after several years of competition the ailing and unsuccessful Anthropological Society re-amalgamated with the Ethnological Society resulting in the foundation of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871 (Reining 1962: 596). This marked a change of interest in British anthropology. It began to be perceived as a scientific discipline and pressure was put on universities to accept it as an academic subject (Mills 2003: 9; Reining 1962: 597). It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that anthropology achieved official academic recognition with the subject being introduced at Oxford in 1884 and later in 1900 at Cambridge (Lewis 1985: 37). In 1884 a section for anthropology was created in the British Association for the Advancement of Science and an appeal was made to put anthropology to the attention of the public through forms of popular education (Reining 1962: 597).

Granted the royal charter in 1907, the Royal Anthropological Institute nurtured a diverse membership of enthusiasts, gentlemen scholars, explorers, missionaries and administrators. The early years saw repeated attempts by anthropologists and the Institute to convince the British government that a disciplinary association could be useful, in terms of

empire, and therefore deserved funding. However, neither this nor a second attempt in 1912 were successful (Mills 2003: 8-9).[8]

1.7.2 Anthropology, ethnography and the museum

Every age of geographical discovery has seen a burst of popular interest in the discoveries made (Mair 1972: 17). Before the widespread use of photography, objects provided an important means of representing exotic people and places (Lawson 1999: 103) and the practice of collecting ethnographic material prior to the twentieth century for cabinets of curiosities and later for museums has been well documented (Shelton 2000a, b). Gosden (1999: 16) highlights the importance of collecting in terms of colonialism stating that:

> A constant thread through colonial relationships is the attempt to make sense of those relationships through collection of objects.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century such objects (including traditional clothing, ornaments, weapons and ritual paraphernalia) were readily accepted by museums, particularly in connection with the large-scale historical processes of economic development and nationalism in Europe and North America, and especially those relating to colonial domination (e.g. Shelton 2000a, b).

The early decades of collecting coincided with a period of rapid, intensive culture change in many non-Western societies. Early collectors of ethnographic material included sea captains, sailors, traders, naturalists, missionaries, military personnel, administrators and travellers, who usually worked in concert with local concerns and interests but occasionally did so in opposition to them. The exchange of goods was mediated by a variety of local factors and collecting interests, including seasonal cycles, remuneration, aesthetic fashion, and individual bias. Objects were received as gifts, in exchange for trades goods or money, occasionally as souvenirs of hostile or pleasant encounters.[9] Some were simply stolen. However, thefts were likely to incur more risk than advantage, since collecting endeavours prior to the twentieth century were generally subordinate to other activities, which might be placed in jeopardy by the unethical removal of objects. Most items removed by early collectors were replaceable; however, there were many local manufactures (such as

[8] Note that there was not the same movement of ethnographical societies throughout the provinces as natural history societies, although natural history museums did accept ethnographical material.
[9] For more information on the collection of souvenirs see Stewart (1993).

indigenous arms and armour) that became obsolete as cultures were transformed by extensive contact (e.g. Thomas 1991; Salmond 2001).

Nineteenth-century museums were central to anthropology and ethnography, as they became the repository of the material culture that was being collected from around the world (e.g. van Keuren 1989). Museums also therefore became the focus of research into that material culture; Lurie (1981:184), for example, has described the museum as 'the institutional homeland' of anthropology and Sturtevant (1969: 622-23) has referred to the period from the 1840s to 1890 as the 'museum period of anthropology'. Although ethnographic material was being deposited into museums throughout this time, and earlier (within cabinets of curiosities) it took a while before ethnographic objects began to be treated as a distinct category. For example, the British Museum (which was founded in 1753) had only three departments: 'Printed books, Maps, Globes and Drawings', 'Manuscripts, Medals and Coins', and 'Natural and Artificial Productions'. The large collection of ethnographic material from the voyages of Captain Cook was deposited in the latter department along with paintings and natural history specimens (Alexander 1996: 44-46). There was some effort to encourage the development of a national ethnographic collection of Natural and Artificial Curiosities in 1845 as an 'Ethnological Gallery', partly in response to suggestions by ethnologists from the Ethnological Society, although as late as 1860 the only large public collection of ethnographic collection was that of the British Museum, which by this time had 62 cases devoted to ethnography (Chapman 1985: 23)

The accession of ethnographic material at provincial museums experienced a similar pattern. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, objects associated with other cultural societies were readily accepted by provincial museums, although they were not labelled as ethnography but fell under the heading of curiosities. For example, spears and swords received by Whitby Museum from the South Sea Islands were deposited in the Department of Miscellaneous Curiosities (Browne 1946: 11). This may be because ethnography, and indeed anthropology, were not recognized as scientific disciplines at the time. As the century progressed this changed and museum collections remained important for certain research purposes, especially in relation to culture. Major anthropological museums were established in the latter half of the nineteenth century (such as the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1884; e.g. Petch 2001).

The period from 1890 to 1920 was described by Sturtevant as the 'museum university period' (1969: 622-23). Most of the major anthropology departments emerging in universities around the turn of the century were either closely connected to or directly associated with major museums. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as anthropology was becoming established as an intellectually independent discipline, the close connection between museums and the rest of the field was understandable. During this period,

anthropologists were hurriedly trying to describe and salvage ethnographic, linguistic and biological information from the wide diversity of aboriginal peoples around the world. It seemed as though aboriginal peoples were on the verge of extinction, an idea promoted by those conversant with Darwin's theory, and it was deemed to be the responsibility of anthropology to establish a record of these people before it was too late (Haas 1996: 7). Together with the efforts to record the non-material aspects of different peoples was the effort to describe and salvage the material culture of these peoples, fuelled by the alarming rate at which anthropologists perceived native arts and technologies were being lost (*ibid.*). This loss was a direct response to a number of factors in the dominant colonial environment. Collecting material culture was particularly important since it was tangible, durable, and seen as representative of most aspects of culture (*ibid.*).

The collected objects also provided an optimal medium for achieving public learning about diverse cultures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century it was claimed that ethnographic material at the British Museum was gaining popularity, in stark contrast to natural history material (Coombes 1994: 140). Material culture was a tangible manifestation of other cultures and was sufficient on its own to capture the interest and imagination of the general public. There were thus good, logical reasons for anthropology museums at that time to focus their research and exhibitions on the objects of the Other. The collections provided the foundation for systematic ethnographic exhibits of other cultures then, as they still do today (Haas 1996: 7).

1.8 Colonial collecting

There are a number of accounts which use the passage of objects (and their associated meanings), both natural and artificial, between the colonised and coloniser to examine cultural encounters and relationships which occurred as a result of colonialism (Gosden 1999: 19; Moore 2001; Thomas 1991; Fan 2004; Gosden & Knowles 2001). The popular perception of collecting which occurred within the colonial regime is that of an activity of an exploitative nature, achieved through theft and looting. However, these accounts go further than this, using objects to reveal other aspects of colonial relations. There were many reasons why people were attracted to material objects and biological specimens in the colonies.

During this period of great exploration and colonial expansion (see section 1.4), western people became more curious about their environment and interested in the exotic rather than the ordinary (Smith 1960). Many naturalists for example, were not satisfied with what their homeland offered them and after reading accounts such as Charles Waterton's *Wanderings in South America* (1828) (one of the best selling books of the time) and H.W.

Bates's *A Naturalist on the River Amazon* (1863), they often dreamed (and in some cases were inspired) of going abroad. The main attraction was the opportunity which this gave the naturalist to discover new species. At this time naturalists could earn a great deal of respect and distinction by finding and naming new species and the prospect of going to places which were zoologically and botanically unchartered offered a perfect opportunity to do so (Barber 1980: 47-56). Collections and rare objects assumed real significance, being traded by kings and rulers for political favours and to create alliances - Zarafa (a giraffe) for instance was such a gift from Muhammad Ali in Egypt to Charles X of France. When it arrived in Paris in 1826, it was the first giraffe ever to be seen in France (Lagueux 2003; Figure 1.4).[10] British Royalty were also presented with foreign animals; on a trip to India in 1875, the Prince of Wales was given a number of animals including four elephants (Blunt 1976: 189).

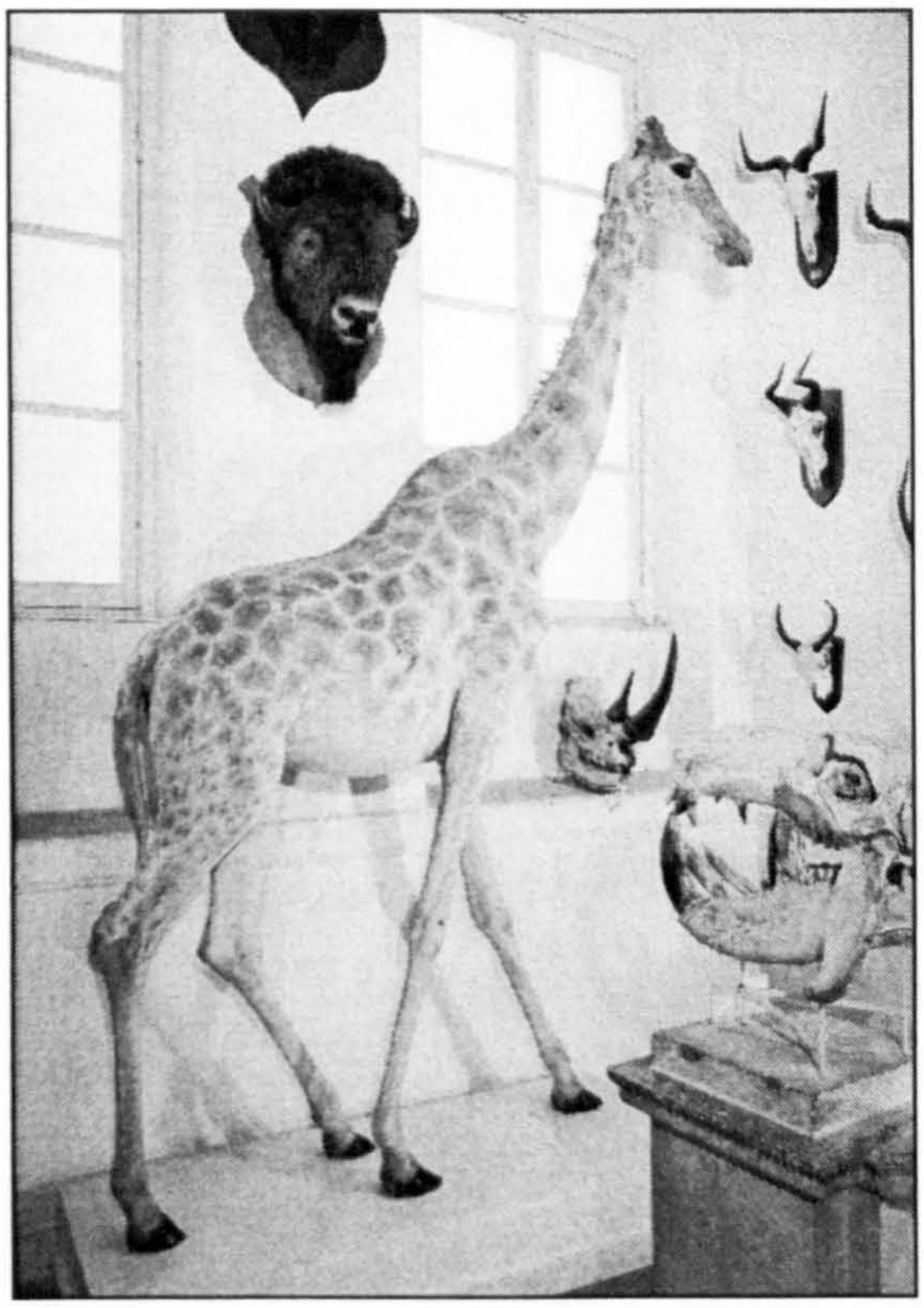

Figure 1.5 A giraffe (named Zarafa) on display in the Natural History Museum of La Rochelle.

As trade with different countries expanded as a result of the growth of the British Empire in the early 1800s, this dream of collecting abroad became a possibility, travel became less exclusive and involved more people such as merchants, businessmen and diplomats (Lloyd 1985: 15; also see section 1.4). With the increase in industrialisation and urbanisation in Britain, especially in the large towns and cities such as Liverpool and

[10] The giraffe is now displayed in the Natural History Museum of La Rochelle.

Newcastle, wealth and power increased as they became trade centres with the rest of the world, giving them access to new cultures and new environments. International, national and colonial exhibitions, the first of which was the Great Exhibition of 1851 held in the Crystal Palace (commissioned especially for this event) at Hyde Park, gave evidence for this growth of trade and communication, symbolising the industrial, military and economic superiority of Great Britain, often depicting the colonies as romantic and exotic. These achievements were displayed alongside those of 'less civilized' countries, and included objects and specimens (and even people) from the colonies (Auerbach 1999; Gibbs-Smith 1981; see section 4.2.1; Figure 4.4).[11] As time progressed these exhibitions became more about imperial and colonial display, Mackenzie (1986: 97-120) suggesting that they were a source of imperial propaganda, boasting the benefits of Empire.

Accompanying this travel was the collection of objects from these foreign countries; Black (2000: 12) comments that, 'whenever a culture travels, it collects'. It was this combination of factors, the need to establish a 'complete' collection, fascination with the exotic and the growth of the British Empire resulting in increased foreign travel that led to the collection of colonial material, both natural history and material culture. Browne (1996) emphasises the inextricable links between the study and collection of animals and plants (biogeography) in the nineteenth century and colonialism. She reports that access to these specimens was reliant on the progress of British colonialism as colonial officials such as military personnel and colonial administrators were often collectors of this material (see sections 1.8.2, 1.8.3 & 1.8.4) and that the growth of knowledge of the natural world followed the expansion of Empire (for example, expeditions which were primarily for national purposes were accompanied by the study and collection of organisms (see below)). This was not the only way biogeography and Empire was linked. Terms used to refer to British colonialism, such as 'nation', 'province', 'motherland', 'outpost' and 'colonist' were also often used to describe regional flora and fauna. In addition, discussions on organisms reflected general principles of Empire; plant regions, for instance, were discussed numerically, in a similar way to human populations. This knowledge of the natural world was very important to the Government in terms of the British Empire as the availability of resources, minerals, plants and animals, helped them make decisions about colonial expansion (*ibid.*).

Allen (1969, 1976b) suggests that anything that agitates the lay world will agitate natural history:

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[11] These exhibitions were known for creating 'spectacles'. This was done in a variety of ways, including the use of live performers. Coombes (1994: 112-113) suggests that it was partly though this creation of spectacle that these exhibition had more popular appeal than museums. Museums however, distinguished themselves from these exhibitions by offering an 'authentic' educational experience.

> ... the study of plants and animals, by the very nature of its subject matter, is more than ordinarily exposed to those intruding tides and undercurrents. Fashionable fads from the outer world are constantly buffeting biologists and distracting their attention, tempting them down avenues that might otherwise have lain untrodden. (Allen 1976b: 510)

Indeed, I would suggest that colonialism could be described as one of these 'agitations' or 'undercurrents'. As described earlier colonialism affected a large number of people, especially through the endless opportunities which it gave in the form of travel, for example, through employment on overseas expeditions or by the British Royal Navy and British Army (see section 1.4.2). Many of these people did collect, in some cases the obsession of collecting, identifying and preserving which had been nurtured at home was simply transferred to their overseas destination. In other scenarios, many grew fascinated by natural history simply because of the exotic animals and plants that surrounded them on their travels (e.g. Lloyd 1985).

The following sections aim to provide an overview of the type of people who were collecting in the colonies, as portrayed by the available literature. It will concentrate on those who collected in Australia, India and Africa, giving examples from a variety of collectors, the circumstances in which they collected, their motivations for collecting, the collections they made and the fate of these collections. Collectors are commonly categorised according to their occupations (e.g. Mearns & Mearns 1998) but can also be classified as 'amateurs' or 'professionals', terms which will be used within this thesis; it is therefore necessary that these terms are clarified. Although there has been much discussion about amateur and professional naturalists, the roles they played in science and the relationship between them (e.g. Alberti 2001a), the same is not true for the amateur and professional collector. Within this thesis a professional collector is defined as someone whose principal source of income was either directly or indirectly the result of collecting (for examples see section 1.8.1). This is in contrast to the amateur collector who collected merely as a hobby or a way to make extra money to supplement their full time employment (for example see sections 1.8.2, 1.8.3 & 1.8.4). These definitions closely agree with those of McMillan (1996: 125) but do not necessarily reflect the skills of the collector and the contributions they made to museums and natural history pursuits in general. The word amateur often has negative connotations; however, this thesis will reveal that without the contribution of the amateur naturalist, the museum (and especially provincial museums) would not have grown in strength as they did. Amateurs were often extremely able and knowledgeable (sometimes more so than their 'professional' counterparts), and many had large, enviable collections which they offered to

museums. Thus in terms of knowledge and proficiency the distinction between amateur and professional is often blurred; therefore within this thesis the definition is limited to financial means. Although only two simple categories have been used to classify collectors, this does not mean that there is not huge variation within them, with each collector having a unique approach to collecting (this is in agreement to Alberti's (2001a) findings on amateur naturalists and their great variety of identities and practices). Although some amateurs were extremely knowledgeable and collated large collections, others were not, collecting only single specimens with no desire to study these objects. In contrast with many of the professional collectors, it has been noted by McMillan (1996: 125) that amateur collectors are relatively understudied. Throughout this thesis, the diversity of amateur collectors will be revealed, as will the important role they played in the development of the provincial museum.

1.8.1 Professional collectors

McMillan (1996: 125) noted that the majority of literature on nineteenth century collectors is dominated by accounts of professional collectors (e.g. Ralph 1993; Stearn 1968; Branagan 1993). Continuing from the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century was a century of exploration. During this time a number of voyages of exploration took place, in some cases to chart unknown areas, or to see how the country and its resources could be exploited (Hakluyt 1972). Many of these voyages employed naturalists who were paid to collect (Ralph 1993; Stearn 1968). One of the most well-known examples is Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) and the collection he made on the first voyage of exploration to Australia on the *Endeavour*. This voyage had a dual objective: exploration in the form of the discovery of the unknown continent of Australia and the collection of scientific data and materials. The *Endeavour* was the best equipped ship of the time for the collection of scientific specimens, illustrated by the phenomenal number of specimens, mostly botanical, collected by Sir Joseph Banks (Stearn 1968). His surviving collections are both scientifically and historically significant even today (Fitton & Shute 1994: 209-211).

After the voyage, most of these specimens went on to form the basis of Banks' private collection at his home in London, which rapidly expanded over the years as he became a known accumulator of specimens. In total, between 1770 and 1820, he had around 126 collectors sending him specimens from outside Britain and Europe and therefore could be described as a collecting co-ordinator. These collections were acquired both passively and actively, with some people specifically given instructions and sent out on missions to collect natural history, while others had simply heard about Banks' work and sent him specimens, often in the hope that they would be paid to be regular collectors. He had a variety of different

types of people collecting for him: horticulturists, gardeners, botanists, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, civil servants, officials, army officers, naval and merchant officers, navigators and explorers. The Empire played an important role in the collection of these specimens; a number of the occupations listed above were mainly made up of people in colonial services, the highest density of collectors being in colonial countries, probably owing to easy access to material. Australasia and the Pacific were particularly popular, with the largest number of commissioned collectors being sent there to collect (Mackay 1996; Miller 1996).

Banks had two main drives for the collection of specimens: his curiosity of new species and his imperialist philosophy; that is, by transplanting economic and commercially important botanical species from one colony to another where there were suitable conditions for its success, the productivity of colonies could be enhanced (O'Brian 1987: 178 & 230-232; Brockway 1979: 83-86). His collection was ultimately dispersed widely. Many specimens were acquired by the British Museum but also by provincial museums in Britain, for example the Hancock Museum and the Liverpool Museum, but mostly through indirect routes (Miller 1996: 21-37). Banks could have sold his collections to make money, but he gave most of them to museums as he believed they would enrich the lives of others (Thomas 1991: 144).

Other voyages of exploration also included famous naturalists of the nineteenth century who made collections as well as making observations such as Joseph Hooker (1817-1911). Hooker was an influential botanist. His first major voyage of discovery was to the Antarctica on the *Erebus* (1839-42) where he was employed as assistant surgeon. This included stops in Australasia (New Zealand and Tasmania), as well as other small islands round Antarctica, giving Hooker liberal opportunities to collect. In addition, he was paid (partially funded by the government) to carry out botanical exploration in India (1847-51) which resulted in valuable botanical information and survey work (Turrill 1963: 49-73; Desmond 1999; Whittle 1970: 129-139). He also collected in Africa (Whittle 1970: 129-139).

Charles Darwin (1809-82) is well known for the work he carried out whilst on *HMS Beagle* (1831-36). This voyage was an important experience both in formulating his theory of evolution by means of natural selection, and the collection of specimens. The expedition was a government-sponsored surveying research voyage, destined for South America, making stops at the Galapagos Islands as well as Sydney, Australia on the way back to the UK. However, unlike Hooker and Banks, although carrying out the job of a naturalist, Darwin was not paid (Darwin 1901, 1945; Browne 1996).

The examples given so far illustrate naturalist collectors that were employed on government-sponsored vessels (Ralph 1993; Stearn 1968; Mearns & Mearns 1998: 163-186). To this rule there were exceptions, for example Samuel Stutchbury (1798-1859), who was appointed in 1825 as a zoologist and surgeon on a commercial pearl-fishing expedition by the Pacific Pearl Fishery Company (Crane 1983; Branagan 1993). However, it was not only those

employed as naturalists on these voyages who collected, as many other employees on board also took the opportunity to collect. In contrast though, as these people did not collect as their principal source of income, they can be classified as amateur collectors. Sir Leopold McClintock, for instance, an Admiral in the British Navy, travelled extensively as part of his work and even though he was not employed specifically to do so, took the opportunity to collect specimens from the Arctic and the West Indies whilst he was Commander in Chief there (Lloyd 1985: 41-60). Sailors on early exploratory voyages, such as Cook's voyages to Australia, were on the whole only interested in collecting objects for their financial value (the profit they could make for the curiosity value of the objects collected) (Thomas 1991: 141). The following section will go on to identify several other categories of amateur collectors and investigate this important source of colonial specimens in more depth.

1.8.2 Army employees

As mentioned earlier, at this time in British history there was an increased opportunity to travel abroad and therefore collect through a number of means (see section 1.4). Travel offered by the army (see section 1.4.2) often provided the inspiration needed to collect and explore or just allowed people to express their love of collecting in another country. John Hanning Speke (1827-1864), for example, joined the 46th Bengal Native Infantry in India in 1844. This allowed him to travel extensively in Northern India, as well as further afield during leave, giving him the opportunity to explore his love of nature and collect native birds and animals. He was a sportsman, with a particular enthusiasm for shooting, collecting specimens for trophies rather than for their scientific value, with which he proposed to form his own museum on his return from India. When he felt he had collected all the specimens possible in India he decided to go on an expedition to Africa, to continue his passion. During this expedition he collected a large number of specimens including a number of new species, for example Speke's Gazelle (*Gazella spekei*), some of which were sent back to Britain to the Zoological Society of London (Lloyd 1985: 75-90).

Hunting was a popular activity for many European colonisers in the nineteenth century. Griffiths (1996: 12) notes that hunting for the coloniser was very different than hunting carried out by the colonised. Hunting for the coloniser was a culture that symbolised global dominance and supremacy, European world supremacy actually coinciding with the peak of the hunting and shooting craze:

> In the imperial culture, hunting was an elite sporting and intellectual pursuit, class-conscious and recreational: it was a quest for sport, science and trophies, a 'refined hunting and gathering'. (*ibid.*)

Hunting for trophy heads was one popular form of British collecting (Mackenzie 1998: 25-53) especially by members of the army, as illustrated by John Hanning Speke (Lloyd 1985: 75-90). These trophies were used as records or mementoes of specific hunts as well as for decorative purposes. It is not surprising that a number of these exotic trophy heads found their way back to Britain, as a high proportion of middle-class and aristocratic families had members serving in India and later Africa, two of the most popular countries for European hunters. Like other genre of natural history collecting, people desired to have complete, representative collections of trophy heads (Mackenzie 1998: 28-30). Some collections were so superb that they became established as private museums. For example, the second Lord Rothschild (1868-1937) established a private museum at Tring which included a large number of trophy heads obtained by the many renowned hunters employed by him (Barber 1980: 160-161; Mackenzie 1998: 39). As well as being a symbol of power, the culture of hunting was also closely connected to the science of natural history (Mackenzie 1998: 27; Griffiths 1996: 9-27). Many animals which were presented as trophy heads were actually new species. This was an attractive by-product of hunting, as by discovering and naming a new species, the hunter had the chance of being remembered throughout history. This often acted as an incentive to go out and hunt and collect, inspiring many hunters, explorers and governors to develop interests in natural history (Mackenzie 1998: 38-39).

Trophy heads were a desirable item for museums, both for display and study purposes. Some museums, including the British Museum (Natural History), actually employed hunters to go out and collect specific species and sub-species. In the late nineteenth century the combination of these exotic animals with ethnic objects became popular in exhibitions in museums in Britain:

> Few museums were without galleries of stuffed animals. (Mackenzie 1998:40)

Both the hunter and the museum gained advantages through this partnership. Obviously the museum gained specimens, but less obviously the hunters gained entry into the scientific circles of museums. The hunter F.C. Selous (1851-1917) for example, even had a monument of himself erected at the South Kensington Museum (Mackenzie 1998: 38).

In addition to India, Africa was one of the favourite hunting venues; the height of the hunting craze coincided with exploration, expansion and exploitation in Africa. Naturalists who went out to Africa to collect for museums included W. J. Burchell (c.1782-1863) and

Andrew Smith (1797-1872), both of whom were in the service of the East India Company. R.G. Cumming (1820-1866) was a particularly prevalent hunter of the period. Again a member of the East India Company, he spent much time hunting in South Africa between 1843 and 1848. His collection of trophy heads was looked at with astonishment by people who visited his collection in Cape Colony. This collection was so spectacular that it was exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and toured other venues in London, such as the South African Museum (Mackenzie 1998: 28-29). Nelson (1998: 169) comments that it seems to be the senior military officers who made collections, few of the soldiers or free civilians taking an interest in natural history. This is the situation that is portrayed in the literature. As natural history in Britain was popular with a wide-range of society, the fact that this did not seem to be the case when people were stationed abroad is an interesting anomaly. However, it should be noted that those of senior rank would have greater resources, for example, time and financial resources to aid their collecting habits.

1.8.3 Military surgeons

Individuals in the medical profession were often known for collecting, especially natural history, as it was a natural expansion of their interests in medicinal plants and human biology - a medical degree often had a strong emphasis on natural history (Barber 1980: 30-31). Their backgrounds (social, educational and professional) offered the resources and skills necessary for collecting. For example, socially they were often from wealthy families and therefore would have been brought up shooting game. Professionally, they had the necessary instruments and techniques for the use in the study of natural history, such as those needed in the process of dissecting (Mearns & Mearns 1998: 209). A number of military surgeons, for example, Francis Day (Davis 2004), Dr Thomas Claverhill Jerdon (Mearns & Mearns 1998: 213), Dr Leith Adams (*ibid.*: 213) and John White, Surgeon-General of New South Wales (Nelson 1988), enjoyed the advantages of travel provided by the army, often being the first to travel to remote locations, and collecting whilst located there.

Francis Day (1829-1889) was appointed assistant surgeon to the Madras establishment, India. This allowed him a lot of freedom to explore the country. In just four years he was transferred to several different establishments in the subcontinent: Mercara, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Although he developed a love for natural history at a young age, whilst in India this developed into a passion for both the fauna and the local people. After this period of active service in India, Day stayed in the country and spent five years of his life (1859-1864) in Cochin; it was here he began to study fish. It was not long though before he returned to India, continuing his interest in ichthyology carrying out fish stocking experiments

and extensive fish surveys. In 1871 he was appointed inspector-general of fisheries, which was followed by a promotion later on that year to surgeon-major. Throughout his time in India he continued publishing his discoveries as he did when he returned to England in 1874. As well as his publish works, such as *The Fishes of India* (1875-78), *Fishes of Great Britain* and *British and Irish Salmonidae* (1887), he also had a large natural history collection. During his early years in India his interest in natural history were rather diverse. This was reflected in his collections, which included birds, insects, crustaceans, reptiles, mammals and fishes. He supplied the British Museum with a number of specimens during the 1860s. His largest and by far most famous collection was that of his fish which in 1873 consisted of 12,000 specimens in spirits as well as skins. These were sent to a number of institutions worldwide, including the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the British Museum (Natural History), the Derby Museum, Liverpool (see section 6.2.9) and the Australian Museum, Sydney (Davis 2004).

1.8.4 Missionaries

The Church encouraged travel through missionaries who spent much time in foreign countries, especially new colonies, trying to convert people to Christianity (see section 1.4.1). In fact there are few areas of the world that they did not permeate. In the 1700s there were relatively few missionaries, but this rapidly changed, and by the end of the 1800s there were over 70 missionary societies in Europe and America alone (Mearns & Mearns 1998: 246). Missionaries were often an important source of objects for a museum, for example the Church Missionary Society in Africa and Asia from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century donated 300 musical instruments to the Horniman Museum. Prominent examples of missionary donors include George Bennett (Tythacott 2001) and Henry Townsend (Levell 2001a), who collected objects of an ethnographic nature. Collections gathered by missionaries were often seen as very valuable because of the close cultural contact they had with the 'lower' end of society. These collections would therefore differ markedly from those collections developed by individuals who only mixed with the upper-class (Birley 2001: 137-145).

Other missionary collections in museums came in the form of trophies of success; missionaries who took religious artefacts away from indigenous people when trying to convert them (Thomas 1991: 168; Levell 2001b). Henry Townsend (1815-86) was first posted as an Anglican missionary in Sierra Leone, converting liberated slaves. He accompanied a group of them back to their hometown, Abeokuta, in Nigeria, and owing to his warm reception he stayed and established a mission. It was here that he made a collection of Yoruba artefacts, which he donated to his hometown museum, the Royal Albert Memorial Museum,

Exeter, for the interest of his fellow inhabitants. His collection has been described as a collection of souvenirs, assembled through gifts, a number of which were made through his friendship with the Chief of the village (Levell 2001a: 186-189).

Missionaries did not only collect ethnographic objects, James Backhouse (1794-1869), for example, made collections of botany (clergymen often had an interest in natural history; see Armstrong 2000: 139-153). Backhouse was an active Quaker minister and in 1831 he undertook a missionary journey to Australia. He was accompanied by George Washington Walker (1800-1859) of Newcastle upon Tyne, with whom he was responsible for introducing the Quaker faith to Australia. However, this was not the only activity Backhouse endured while in Australia. As well as preaching, visiting penal colonies and suggesting reforms, he also found time to indulge in his passion, botany. He wrote notes, in addition to collecting plants and seeds, sending them back to York nursery and to Professor William Hooker (1785-1865) at Glasgow.[12] While out in Australia, Backhouse met many of the key figures in Australian botany, including Robert Brown,[13] to some of whom he also sent specimens (Davis 1989).

1.8.5 Colonial collecting from home

The previous sections have illustrated that many people who were appointed in the colonies took the opportunity to collect whilst there, many donating their collections to museums back in Britain. In some cases, these foreign specimens made up an important part of museum collections such as those at Hull Museums (Murray 1904: 246), which will be further illustrated in forthcoming chapters (chapters 4-8). In fact, many curators in Britain at the time agreed that, 'it was Britain's imperial obligation to collect' (Black 2000: 12). Some British museums were actually created on the basis of one large collection made by prolific travelling collectors or collectors who employed people to travel and collect for them. The collections of General Pitt Rivers (1827-1900), which included a large number of foreign objects, were the basis of two British museums: the Pitt Rivers museum in Farnham, Dorset (Renfrew and

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[12] William Hooker (1785-1865) was one of the most influential British botanists of his time. In addition to his professorship at Glasgow, he was also appointed Director of Kew in 1841 where he revitalised the gardens and herbarium. Hooker recruited correspondents and collectors throughout the world, especially Australia. Hooker published tirelessly, including many descriptions of Australian plants, particularly in the journals which he edited, *Botanical Miscellany* and *The Journal of Botany* (FitzGerald 2004).

[13] Robert Brown (1773-1858) was a Scottish botanist, best remembered for discovering Brownian motion. He carried out much work in the field of plant morphology. Brown was offered the position of naturalist by Sir Joseph Banks on the voyage of the *Investigator* commanded by Flinders, which he accepted. Following this he served as a librarian for Sir Joseph Banks (Mabberley 2004).

Thompson 1999) and the Pitt Rivers museum, Oxford, which originated when Pitt Rivers donated around 20,000 objects to the University of Oxford (Petch 2001: 248-251).

It is evident that some museums were keen to accept colonial material and in some cases made a concerted effort to acquire this type of collection. Samuel Stutchbury (1798-1859), an assistant at the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, was actively involved in acquiring colonial material for the museum. He acquired the habit of meeting incoming ships at the docks on the Thames, in order to obtain for the Museum unusual and rare animals and plants, alive or dead, an activity in which he was quite successful (Branagan 1993: 71). William Clift (1775-1849), to whom Stutchbury was an assistant, wrote that:

> … he is pretty well acquainted with the methods and labour of preserving specimens when collected … he is well acquainted with what is most wanted bringing instead of loading us with duplicates as is often the case with others when not possessed of that previous knowledge. (Branagan 1993: 71)

The Stutchbury family had connections in the West Indies and it was probably through this source that Stutchbury made links with sea-faring men. In 1831 Stutchbury accepted the post of curator of collections at the Bristol Philosophical Institution and here he carried on his tradition, encouraging seamen to collect and donate exotic specimens. He made direct contact with sea captains bringing home specimens from exotic locations. He even prepared a small booklet of instructions for collectors, which he made available to interested maritime men (*ibid.*).

Another curator who managed to acquire colonial collections without leaving the museum was T.J. Moore, the curator of the Derby Museum. He was energetic in fostering contacts with seafarers and traders overseas, one of which was Robert Bruce Napoleon Walker who lived and traded on the West African coast for half a century and spent much time collecting both zoological and ethnographic specimens. Moore encouraged Walker to collect zoological material, sending him collecting and preserving equipment such as jars, preservative fluids, nets and skinning tools. In return the Derby Museum would receive his best specimens. Occasionally something special might be priced and sold but this seems to have been exceptional (McMillan 1996: 126-128; see section 6.2.3)

As already illustrated by Banks, by forming networks of contacts it was possible to assemble colonial material without travelling (see section 1.8.1). Joseph Hooker although keen to carry on his collection of foreign specimens, struggled to find a paid position, so he had to rely on a network of unpaid colonial collectors to collect the botanic specimens he required. It was through his father, William Hooker, that Hooker made this network of

collectors (Endersby 2001: 5). Knowing the right people and working in networks was one of the keys to a large and complete collection.

1.8.6 Conclusions

It has been revealed that a number of people in differing circumstances collected colonial objects in the nineteenth century and they can be divided into two groups: professional collectors (Ralph 1993; Steam 1968; Branagan 1993) and amateur collectors (Davis 1989; Lloyd 1985: 75-90; McMillan 1996). The majority of these collectors were out in the colonies as a result of their jobs, which came about as a consequence of colonialism. They were on the whole very opportunistic, taking their chance to collect whilst carrying out their professional jobs. Most of the collectors mentioned in the literature are male and of a high standing both in their job and socially. Such people prove easy subjects for biographers because of their high profile jobs and the nature of their collections, many of which are large and of high scientific value (Tennent 1999: 424-425). The motivations for these collectors seem to have varied; some doing it as a source of money, such as Walker (McMillan 1996), some for its scientific value and knowledge, for example Francis Day (Davis 2004; see section 1.8.3) and some because of the love for the act of collecting, such as John Hanning Speke (Lloyd 1985: 75-90; see section 1.8.2).

The majority of information on these collectors and their collections was extracted from biographical accounts, a number of which have been written on natural history collectors who collected during the colonial era in British colonial countries. These are chiefly written from the perspective of natural history and historians, both within (e.g. N. McMillan) and outside (e.g. R. Ralph) the museum environment. Most biographical accounts are written about professional collectors (Branagan 1993; Ralph 1993), those in high profile jobs (Nelson 1998; Tennent 1999), or those known for their scientific achievements (Desmond 1999). As many of these collectors are actually better known for their scientific achievements these biographies give a chance for their collecting to be looked at in further depth. Biographies primarily focus on the life and character of the subject and thus can often reveal their motivations for collecting. In addition, some biographers look critically at the circumstances around collecting (Branagan 1993). Biographies however also have a number of pitfalls. As their main focus is the collector themselves, they often neglect the collected objects, paying little heed to the fate of the collections after their initial collection (e.g. Branagan 1993; Ralph 1993). Some accounts do not use the events surrounding collecting in such a critical way, by-passing the broader issues such as social, political, cultural or economic factors which all potentially influence the activity of collecting (e.g. Tennent 1999). Most of the examples quoted do not always give the final destination for their collections. In some cases it has been

hinted that these collections were readily accepted by museums, but it is not yet clear how important these collectors and collections were in the development of provincial museums in the UK.

Through the examination of three cultural phenomena which occurred during the nineteenth century, namely British colonialism (see sections 1.3 & 1.4), the establishment of museums (see section 1.5) and the popularity of collecting (see sections 1.6, 1.7 & 1.8), this chapter has set the scene for the research which will be presented in this thesis. It has been established that the nineteenth century was a period of expansion in terms of the British Empire and rapid growth in the number of museums established. It was also a time when collecting became a popular hobby and so, combined with the prevailing political climate, this facilitated the movement of material from the British colonies to English museums. By using five English provincial museums as case studies, the movement of this material from the colonies to the museum will be explored and the effects which this material had on the development of these museums will be examined. The following chapter will go on to outline the questions which this thesis will address and the methods by which this will be achieved.

2 Research question, aims and objectives and methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will reveal the main research question (see section 2.2) and specify the individual aims and objectives (see section 2.3) that this thesis will tackle. A detailed description of the methodology used in this research is given in section 2.4.

2.2 Research question

How did colonialism act as a facilitator to collecting and a catalyst for the development of provincial museums in England during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

2.3 Aims and objectives

Aim 1: Quantify the number of colonial acquisitions received by English provincial museums from 1823 to 1914.

Objectives

1.1 Define the museums which will be used as case studies.

1.2 Justify the use of the chosen time period of 1823 to 1914.

1.3 Justify the use of the chosen British colonies of Africa, Australia and India.

1.4 Record the number of acquisitions of colonial objects as a function of time.

1.5 Categorise acquisitions by type (natural history and ethnography) for comparison.

1.6 Categorise acquisitions by origin (African, Australian and Indian) for comparison.

1.7 Record the total number of acquisitions received.

Aim 2: Account for any changes in colonial acquisition flow into English provincial museums over time.

Objectives

2.1 Investigate if museums had well defined collection policies and how these policies (or lack of policies) influenced the flow of colonial material.

2.2 Review the events which occurred during the development of individual provincial museums.

2.3 Review the history and development of the disciplines of natural history and ethnography/anthropology during the nineteenth century.

2.4 Review historical themes relating to British colonial activity which occurred between 1823 and 1914, including the changing attitudes by the British to the colonies.

2.5 Consider the flow of colonial acquisitions experienced by national museums during the nineteenth century.

Aim 3: Account for any differences in colonial acquisition flow into English provincial museums of varied geographical locations.

Objectives

3.1 Compare the geographical location of museums to the number and types of colonial donations received.

3.2 Consider the influence of the location of museums in major trading ports on the acquisition of colonial material.

3.3 Compare the size or the economic success of the town/city and the number of colonial acquisitions received by each museum.

3.4 Review changes and developments in the port industry and if these changes had a direct effect on the flow of colonial material.

Aim 4: Investigate who was donating colonial material to provincial museums and what factors led to the donation of this material.

Objectives

4.1 Investigate how the social situation of the nineteenth century encouraged people to collect not only in Britain but also abroad.

4.2 Record biographical information, including the jobs/economic positions and gender of the donors/collectors of colonial material.

4.3 Examine the relationships between the museum, the collector/donor and the circumstances under which this material was donated.

4.4 Examine the methods employed by museums to encourage the acquisition of colonial material.

4.5 Consider the mission and aims of each museum and what role colonial material played in fulfilling them.

4.6 Examine the possible advantages, if any, the donor gained through the act of donating colonial material.

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Methodological framework

One of the main aims of this thesis is to explain the causal factors underlying the trends in colonial acquisitions made by provincial museums. However, there has been much historiographical debate surrounding the issue of causation (e.g. Carr 1987: 103; Lloyd 1993: 51; Collingwood 1994: 214-15) and it is therefore crucial to recognise the limitations of this approach. It has been argued that owing to the impossibility of gaining first-hand historical knowledge, historical accounts are little more than representations. This, combined with the assumptions and preconceptions introduced by the historian, means that the true causality of events will always remain uncertain. However, these limitations do not mean that it is impossible to identify causality, but rather by understanding the social factors biasing both the original source and today's historian and taking into consideration particular historical circumstances rather than judging collections by contemporary standards and views about museums (by 're-enacting [the] thoughts behind actions and events' [Carr 2000: 38]), it should be possible to identify causal factors with a high degree of certainty (see Carr (2000) and references therein).

The main body of research which has shaped this thesis is that of the history of collections. This topic includes general histories on public and private museums, studies concerned with specific objects in museum collections, and recent studies written from a museological perspective or from the field of 'collection theory'. A number of books have been published on museum histories (Duncan 1830; Murray 1904; Wittlin 1949; Rheims 1961; Taylor 1948). These usually give a brief survey of the history of the museum, often with only reference to secondary sources. Any attention to collectors is superficial, looking only at the most famous or important collectors, their life and collections, and little mention is given to the reasons they collected or donated to the museum. On the whole these accounts are no more than a temporal narrative of collections, museums characterised as uniform through time with no analysis of controversy or transformation. Even relatively recent

museum histories (Alexander 1979; Bazin 1967) take the same stance; no complex analyses are undertaken and factors outside the museum walls are ignored. Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 20) warned against this type of history which she describes as 'safe' and 'uncontentious' and instead insists that histories should be 'effective' and 'reveal new relationships and new articulations' (see below for further explanation on writing effective museum histories).

Following on from these general histories are more specific historical works on internationally renowned (e.g. Bazin 1959; Stearns 1981) and provincial institutions (e.g. Brears 1984), although works on the provincial museums are much more less common (see section 1.1). Many museums also have 'popular' histories for sale within their shop (e.g. those published by Thames and Hudson). A number of works have been written on both specialised museums and collections (Bedini 1965; Whitehead 1970; Butler 1992; Shapiro 1990; Dance 1966) and on collectors themselves (Herrmann 1972; von Holst 1967) with some histories concentrating on the influence of one main player in a museum institution (Allan 1964). There are also histories on museums' functions, both generally (Hudson 1975; Tait 1989) and specifically (such as exhibitions and design; Belcher 1991). Like some of the general histories of museums, the majority of these works reveal significant gaps in the knowledge of patterns of donating, their main concern is narrative, with some areas such as social context being completely ignored.

A newer genre of critical writing on the museum and its history has emerged through the influence of a number of fields of study, including anthropology, literary theory, cultural studies and the creation of the 'new' museology (e.g. Bennett 1995; Lumley 1988; Vergo 1989; Karp & Lavine 1991, 1992). These recent books concern themselves with questions regarding the meanings of museums. They examine museums' representations of the knowledge of their time as well as their interrelationships with social, economic and cultural movements. They also delve deeper into the levels of concurrent ideologies and how museums work within these academic frameworks, utilising philosophies developed elsewhere, including the work of Saussure and Foucault. This new approach has given a previously unconsidered theoretical impetus to museums and their collections (e.g. Conn 1998; Taylor 1999; Pearce 1992, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill 1992). In terms of the history of collecting and collections, this approach has focussed on both the ideological and social functioning of the museum as well as concordantly giving rise to a large body of literature and ultimately leading to a new field of study called 'collection theory'.

Collection theory draws together a variety of theoretical disciplines and looks at collecting from psychological, cultural, social and economic viewpoints. Authors using this field of study to look at historical collecting include Pearce (1995), Rigby and Rigby (1944), Gelber (1991) and Pomian (1990). Some combine both historical and contemporary studies (Elsner and Cardinal 1994; Muensterberger 1994) giving theoretical and psychoanalytical

arguments. *The Collector's Voice* (Pearce & Arnold 2000), takes a long-term approach to collecting, focussing primarily on the temporal development of object acquisition, the changing attitudes to the objects collected, and the development of the museum itself through the voice of the collector. Others have used a psychoanalytical perspective to explain collecting (Baudrillard 1994; Freud 1963). In 1989 *The Journal of the History of Collections* was established as a direct result of the publication of Impey and MacGregor's (1985) *The Origins of Museums*. This journal is dedicated to the subject of collecting, looking at both virtues of objects, narrative histories of collections, as well as applying a more progressive theoretical approach. It was only in the 1990s, that any substantial books on contemporary collecting theory were written (Pearce 1992, 1995, 1998; Elsner and Cardinal 1994; Muensterberger 1994; Belk 1991, 1995a, b; Martin 1999).

This research will take into account the different methods by which these histories have been written and hopes to take a more critical approach, looking not only at events within the museum, but other contexts (social and political) outside the museum which could possibly affect the histories of provincial museums. In particular it draws upon Hooper-Greenhill's advice on writing museum histories in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992). Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 18-22) distinguishes two ways in which museum historiography has been tackled, being highly critical of both. First, she identifies those that engage in the chronological development of museums, concentrating on the narratives of individual collectors or the history of individual institutions, before proceeding to criticise them on their 'narrow focus of description' and 'lack of critical analysis' (*ibid.*: 20), that results in the production of a 'guarded' history lacking specific details. The second type of history she refers to are those written by curators who are deeply embedded within the history of the museum during their day-to-day work, which she claims helps to create accounts that are more critical with specific details. This type of history writing is also criticised, Hooper-Greenhill remarking that:

> in very many cases the slanting of the questioning of these contemporary documents has failed to remark on quite critical points made by the documents themselves. (*ibid.*: 21)

After opposing these two methods of history writing, she proposes a novel way of writing museum history: the 'effective' history. This method of writing is informed by the work of Michel Foucault (1970; 1974; 1977)[1] and unlike previous histories which look at

[1] Hooper-Greenhill (1992) incorporates Foucault's (1973) concept of epistemes, a term which he uses to designate how a culture acquires and organises knowledge in a given historical period, into her study of collections from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

linear progressions through time, linking events together, this takes history as discontinuous, highlighting changes or ruptures which occur. She suggests that by using this method to write museum history, new articulations and relationships will be revealed. However, the principles of using this method are not easily transferred to the writing of museum histories. For example Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 21) notes that:

> an effective history would select a specific time-frame and would identify all the various elements that together made up the identity of the 'museum' at [a given] particular time.

This is a very tidy approach to museum history, and not one that is always facilitated by primary sources, the availability of which is often limited. Over time sources are lost or certain material has been selected for preservation, whilst other material has been disposed of, leaving a biased sample. Owing to this there is no sure way of knowing if all the 'elements' have been identified.

The point that Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 21) makes about identifying *all* the various elements seems to relate to her criticism of histories where:

> the slanting of the questioning ... has failed to remark on quite critical points made by the documents [primary sources] themselves.

That is, by having a specific question in mind, other aspects may be ignored. However, it is very rare that any research will be embarked upon without a specific research question in mind. For this reason some information may be precluded as it would not answer a researcher's original aims and objectives. There are reasons for this approach, principally because of the many disadvantages that a researcher could experience if they attempt to enter upon their research, especially archival research, without specific 'slants' or angles in mind. To illustrate this I am going to look at two types of problems common in statistical hypothesis testing that can be applied to any data collection, and relate this back to archival research.

In her principles of historiographical methodology, Hooper-Greenhill advocates the collection and analysis of all available variables that could impact on the history under study, and warns that selective data acquisition born from preconceived ideas or theories can result in misleading, slanted conclusions. This methodology is acceptable when the ultimate aim is simply to compile a complete list of all the potentially important factors which impact on the history of a museum. However, it goes against the long-established scientific research method of attempting to disprove a testable hypothesis. The only way to confidently prove or disprove a hypothesis is to collect data specific to the question, because by increasing the number of

(potential) causal factors that relate to a single focal variable you dramatically increase the chance of finding a spurious relationship by chance (i.e. a false positive). This is potentially very damaging because time and effort will be wasted following up a causal dead-end, and identifying spurious factors as important can seriously distort any conclusions drawn from the research. In such cases it is far better to risk finding no relationships, even though relationships may well exist (i.e. a false negative), than to find a false positive relationship. If the hypothesis is well thought out and specific variables relating to it are identified prior to data collection, this will mean that any relationship is likely to be genuine and if no relationship is found then there is a strong chance of this being the case.

Although Hooper-Greenhill does not indicate so directly, in fact she takes a slightly adapted approach to the methodology she originally identifies. This can be seen in her interpretation of the history of the Medici Palace in Florence, considered to be one of the first museums in Europe (Hooper Greenhill 1992: 23-46). She firstly identifies factors or 'epistemic elements' which together could affect the identity of the museum, including the belief in cosmology and magic that were constitutive of knowledge in fifteenth-century Italy (all of which have been identified by previous historians who have not used this effective history approach). However before going on to use these factors to identify new articulations and relations in the history of Medici Palace she states that:

> It is accepted that there may be other elements at the epistemic level that are also important and that the context of rationality constructed here may well not be complete. However, it is judged that enough of the context has been constructed to be of use in a rereading of the Medici Palace. (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 46)

Hooper-Greenhill has decided not to identify *all* the elements, as she previously advised, but has used her judgment to make the decision of focusing on a limited number of elements. By doing this she is decreasing the risk of finding a relationship by chance, and also facing the reality of archival research that all the evidence available may not cover all the factors impacting on a museum at any one period of time. This approach is much more sensible and realistic one to take when implementing archival research and is the one taken during the research carried out to complete this thesis.

In order to avoid finding false positive relationships during this research, specific research questions were identified before entering the museum archives. These questions were partially designed through the examination of pilot data collected by Prof. Peter Davis (which included quantitative data on the number of Australian acquisitions acquired by numerous English provincial museums in the nineteenth century) and myself at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, which helped to restrict the number of aspects looked at, and identify

the potentially important ones. However, whilst trying to answer these questions I was also aware of the other evidence available within the documents which may well have an impact on the research question. So although Hooper-Greenhill's effective history approach was not used directly, this approach was adapted to prevent any false relations being made with my data.

In addition to the history of museums, another field which has informed my research is postcolonialism. Colonialism exists within the critical framework of postcolonialism, so it is through this framework that one can critique the cultural consequences of colonialism by investigating the direct effects which it had on collecting and the development of the provincial museum in England during the nineteenth century. Since the 1970s, when the field of postcolonial studies gained credibility, it has had an impact on a number of academic disciplines such as cultural studies, modern history, literary criticism and political economy. However, even though this is the case, the term postcolonialism has a diverse set of meanings and uses, which are still being debated today (Loomba 1998: 1-2; Hall 1996: 242-260; McClintock 1995: 9-14). It is therefore important to look at the controversy of the term and define what the term means within this thesis.

There are both spatial and temporal arguments about the term postcolonial; which countries are postcolonial and when did these countries become postcolonial? For some, postcolonialism implies the ways in which race, ethnicity, culture, and human identity itself are represented in the modern era *after colonisation*, that is, when the colony gained political independence from its coloniser. However, from an ideological point of view, referring to the supplanting of colonialism, many argue that no colonies are truly postcolonial in this sense as even after independence they may still remain economically or culturally dependent on their former coloniser. This is often referred to as 'neo-colonialism' (e.g. Loomba 1998: 6-7). Ashgate *et al* (1994: 2) warn that the full implications of limiting postcolonial studies to after independence should be considered carefully. However, some critics use the term postcolonial to refer to all culture and cultural products influenced by imperialism from the moment of colonisation until today. In this way, it is not only the period after the departure of the imperial power that the term can infer, but that before independence as well, from the moment of colonisation, and it is in this way which I will use the term.

Canada and Australia, though former colonies of Britain, are often placed in a separate category to other colonies because of their status as 'settler' countries and because of their continuing loyalty to their coloniser. Their experience of colonisation was very different to those of indigenous populations who rejected and overthrew their European coloniser after experiencing political exclusion, economic exploitation and cultural extermination. Even so, both can be seen as postcolonial as both have been estranged from a European nation

(Loomba 1998: 9-10). This stance will be taken here, whilst not forgetting the different histories and relations which each separate colony had with their coloniser.

Franz Fanon (1967b: 81), a renowned critique of colonialism and race, stated in *The Wretched of the Earth*, that 'Europe is literally the creation of the Third World'. He applied this to the raw products which the Europeans took from countries such as Africa and used to enhance their own economy. The translation of this statement made by Fanon, to museums in England will be investigated within this thesis; did the English take large amounts of material, in the form of ethnography and natural history, from their colonies to develop their own museums in the mother country of England?

2.4.2 Case studies

To answer the research question (see section 2.2) five provincial museums within towns and cities in England were chosen as case studies (for an explanation of why provincial museum were chosen see section 1.1). The museums used were (see also Figure 2.1):

- The Museum of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle NHS) (now known as The Hancock Museum, Newcastle)
- The Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Leeds PLS) (now known as Leeds City Museums)
- The Liverpool Museum (originally consisting of the Derby Museum and the Mayer Museum and now known as the World Museum Liverpool)
- The Museum of the Saffron Walden Natural History Society (Saffron Walden NHS) (now known as Saffron Walden Museum)
- Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (Whitby LPS) Museum.

For the remainder of the study, the museums will be referred to by the first name stated above.

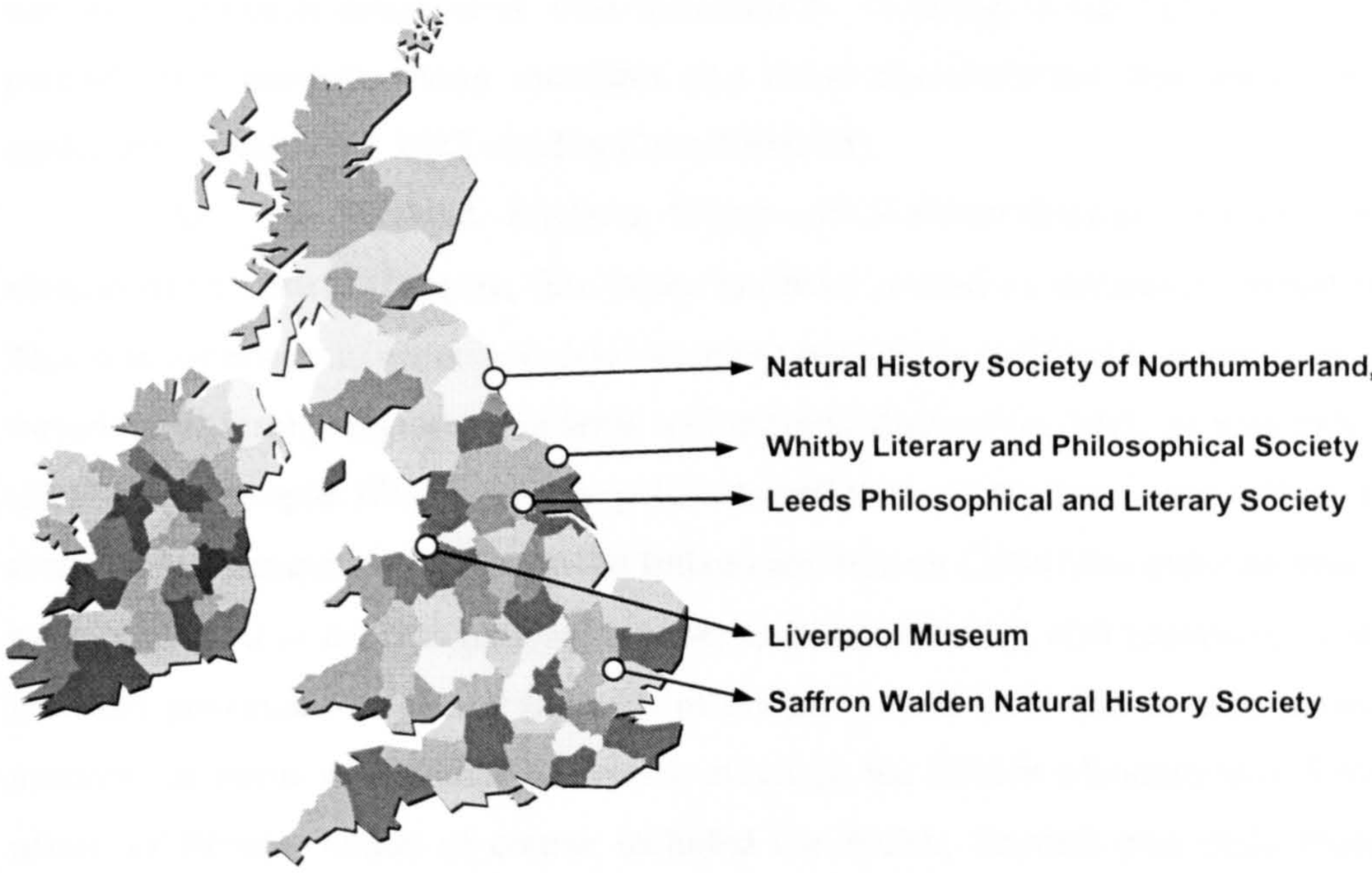

Figure 2.1 Map showing geographical position of case studies.

The meaning of the term 'museum' has been remarkably dynamic. In its original sense (from the Greek meaning 'a temple of the muses') it referred to a place for musing, study and learned intercourse (Murray 1904: 1). During the Renaissance period this meaning changed to refer to a 'cabinet of curiosities' (Impey & MacGregor 1985) before changing again to incorporate not only the assemblage of objects themselves but also their location (Murray 1904: 1; Alberti 2002: 292). However, a fuller understanding of museums requires that institutional processes (including the actions of curators and donors) and prevailing social, political, cultural and economic factors be taken into account (Witcomb 2003: 11). As a result, in this thesis museums are referred to in this wider context: as a dynamic blend which incorporates the objects, their location and the internal and external forces shaping them.

Within this study data was collected from a number of different types of museum, from different towns and cities in different parts of the country, an approach advocated by Conn (1998: 24-25) because it allows the comparison of museums whose overall aims were similar, but whose means of achieving these aims varied enormously. This was due to a complex range of social and economic factors, geographical location, donors, and founders, all of which play a role in shaping a museum's individuality. As a result, focussing on a single museum, or even a single region or museum type, misses much of what makes this era in museums' history so varied and interesting. Conn (1998: 24-25) also notes that the broad approach (as taken within this study) will allow a general picture of how provincial museums developed during the nineteenth century to be made, while trying to encompass all the information that could be important in understanding the trends and patterns observed. A

narrower approach could miss vital information. In doing it highlights 'both the curious parallels that existed among museums and those characteristics that mark out individual institutions' (Kohlstedt 1987 cited in Conn 1998: 25).

Although Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland were all players in the making of the British Empire, this study has been limited to museums located in England. This was necessary in order to control as many potentially confounding variables as possible, including differing migration patterns and cultural distinction, such as nationalism. Crooke (2000), for example, illustrates how political conditions, in terms of nationalism, affected the formation of antiquities collections in Ireland and Mason (2004) has outlined how collections have been used to express national identity in Scottish and Welsh museums. A study which included provincial museums from all of Britain would have had to take nationalism into account. In terms of national museums, although the British Museum was formed for the nation of Britain, which of course included the Welsh, Scottish and Irish, these countries (unlike England) still felt the need to form museums to house their own national collections, and in the case of Wales, this also affected local collections. The National Museum of Wales at Cardiff was opened in 1927 (although this idea was proposed to parliament some 36 years earlier in 1892). A large proportion of its early collections consisted of those of the Cardiff Museum, a local museum whose collections largely consisted of material collected in the local environment. This collection was absorbed into the national museum and although efforts were made to expand this collection to cover the whole of the nation of Wales in the years of preparation before the opening of the national museum, the majority of it only represented Cardiff (Bassett 1982: 181). In terms of the effects of national museums on the collections of local museums in England, the British Museum, although having a higher claim on collections owing to its status, did not take collections away from them as has been illustrated in the case of the former museum of Cardiff and the National Museum of Wales. In addition, Cardiff Museum would have been difficult to use as a case study as acquisition records are poor. When the Museum was incorporated into the National Museum records were made, but not all distinguished where the material originally came from (R. Mason 2005, pers. comm.).

A preliminary visit was made to nine English museums (those outlined above, as well as Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham Museum Service, Warrington Museum and Art Gallery and Manchester Museum) to determine the archival sources available and their suitability for this study. From these, the five case studies were selected for a number of reasons. First and foremost these museums have their roots of formation in the nineteenth century, predominantly in the early years of that era. As this study is concerned with the movement of colonial material during the period of 1823 to 1914 it was imperative that the museums used had been firmly established for the majority of the nineteenth century.

Secondly, the selected museums all had differing origins: two were natural history society museums, two literary and philosophical society museums and one was controlled by the local corporation. These museums, with their range of origins, were chosen to give a representative sample of the different types of public museums which were established during the nineteenth century, as well as allowing comparisons between them. Thirdly, the chosen museums are located in varied geographical locations across England, some inland and some coastal; three port and two inland museums (Figure 2.1). There is an obvious north-south bias in the location of the museums, four being located in the north and only one in the south. This was in part owing to the literary and philosophical movement (and their associated museums) which was particularly strong and prevalent in the north (e.g. Alberti 2003a; Brears 1984), three of the case studies, Whitby LPS (chapter 5), Newcastle NHS (chapter 7) and Leeds PLS (chapter 8) all originating from this movement. From a practical point of view, these museums were chosen owing to the richness and availability of archival material they could provide during the three years (2002-2005) in which this study took place (for example, Sheffield Museum was not used as it was undergoing refurbishment during this period) and were the maximum number that could be comprehensively studied within this timeframe. Finally, preliminary visits revealed that in some of the museums the primary data (predominantly accession registers) regarding acquisitions was often vague in such aspects as the location of origin of the object/specimen, and in cases where the object was no longer in existence it was often very difficult to verify what the donation consisted of and where it came from. As this data was vital in terms of answering the research question, if it could not be reliably collected then the museum was eliminated from the study (see section 2.4.3 for further information on data compilation).

2.4.3 Data collection and sources consulted

The same methodological procedure was carried out at each museum visited. The first task was to collect data on the colonial collections accessioned, but before this data collection was instigated a number of parameters had to be set within which the study could be contained. As time was a constraining factor, collections from all British colonies could not be examined, and was therefore restricted to colonial collections (and their collectors) from the British colonies of India, Australia and Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These three colonies were chosen as they give a heterogeneous cover of British colonisation and provide a representative sample of the diverse colonial relationships which Britain experienced during the nineteenth century. All three were colonised by Britain in different ways, at different times and for differing reasons (for a more thorough account of the colonial

history of these areas see section 3.2). From this point hereafter when the word 'colonies' is used, it will be in reference to only the British colonies which this study is interested in: Australia, India and Africa. The chronological limits of this study have been set at 1823 to 1914. The initial date is the year when the first colonial accession was received by the chosen case studies (1823 by Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society). 1914 forms a natural boundary as it marks the beginning of the First World War and a new era in British colonialism. The War also affected museums; spending was restricted, collections were often moved and in some cases museums were closed (Kavanagh 1990: 19-21). The chosen study period was not only significant in terms of the development of museums (see section 1.5) but also Britain's world-wide Empire (see section 1.4).

On arrival at each museum, the first source consulted was the original accession register. All ethnographic and natural history donations received by the museum from Australia, India and Africa between 1823 and 1914 were recorded: the acquisition date, place of origin, personal information about the donor (including gender, address and occupation), the nature of the donation (both specifically and the broader category within which it would fit, e.g. natural history or ethnography) and the number of objects and/or specimens within the donation. This data was immediately entered into an Excel spreadsheet. In some cases this process was problematic; for example some collections were accessioned as 'worldwide' collections. In this case, unless specific evidence could be found to say that this included material from the colonies of Africa, India or Australia, it was not included. The continent of Africa also proved challenging because unlike Australia and India the whole landmass was not colonised by Britain, and further, the majority of African colonies were settled in the final two decades of the nineteenth century (see section 3.2.1). Acquisitions were often recorded by the museum simply as coming 'from Africa'. In this case these were accepted into the data series as when this data was taken out of the equation, the same patterns were exhibited.

In order to verify that the data obtained from the accession registers was accurate, a number of other sources were also consulted. For example, committee minute books and annual reports, which also recorded donations, could be used to validate acquisition data, and in addition an examination of the original object was carried out where possible. After consulting the primary sources, museum cataloguing databases were also used. These often contained additional information regarding the donation, including references to published material such as journal and newspaper articles. Finally, curators were usually on hand to deal with any additional queries.

The study chose to focus on natural history collections because the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented rise in the popularity of the study of natural history which included the collection of natural history specimens (see section 1.6). It is known that this interest transposed to the British colonies (Lloyd 1985; see section 1.8). Ethnographic

material was also included because it often accompanied the collection of natural history material, many collectors collecting both natural and artificial material. Ethnography as a subject also grew in importance (with the development of anthropology) during the nineteenth century and by the end of the century its study was heavily connected with museums, ethnographic material (and natural productions) proving to be popular accessions with many British museums during the nineteenth century (see section 1.7.2).

The data collected was taken from archival sources associated with the identified museums and included the use of both primary and secondary material. Data on acquisitions from India, Australia and Africa was gathered primarily from original primary sources: museum acquisition registers, annual reports, museum committee minutes and correspondence. In the event of original primary sources being unavailable, current museum collection databases were utilised. In most cases more than one of these sources was used, which allowed a more thorough investigation of all colonial acquisitions to be carried out. This was necessary as some sources may not prove to be completely reliable. For example, the way in which acquisitions were recorded varied between museums. Some curators were meticulous in recording the material received, whereas others were not as diligent, not always recording acquisitions as soon as they were made, instead, periodically updating the accession records. For example, although the Saffron Walden NHS accession book (1832-1880) looks immaculately kept, even including sketches of some accessions, it was actually written in 1880 almost 50 years after the first accessions were made. It is therefore almost certain that the accession book did not give a comprehensive record of the acquisitions which they received over this period and therefore it was also necessary to look at other sources of information regarding acquisitions. In the case of Leeds PLS and the Whitby LPS, a record was made of the dates of not only colonial acquisitions but *all* acquisitions entering the museum during the period of 1823 to 1914, which would later allow further comparisons to be made.

Another limiting factor was the lack of data with specimens (in some cases place of collection had not been recorded) and the reliability of location data. This especially applies to ship captains, who often collected material on long voyages with many stops. Some of these voyages may have lasted up to 18 months so the exact location of collection could not always be remembered. Often in the case of sailors the main destination would be given as the collection location even though this was not always the case. Many donations were made not by the collector themselves, but their relatives when they died. They would have had much less of an idea where the collection came from, therefore possibly giving the wrong location. Although in the accession book (the source in which this data was originally recorded), the provenance of data may be missing or be incorrect, consultation with current curators could often reveal the correct provenance of this material.

For this study, the definition of a single acquisition is vital. An acquisition was looked upon as the donation of a single specimen or group of specimens (belonging to the same category e.g. birds, or of different categories e.g. birds and insects) by a person, at one point in time. This is critical as in a number of museums a single collection consisting of more than one type of object was often recorded under multiple accessions headings, especially in museums where accessions books were divided according to material type. Diverse collections were often separated depending on what the collection contained, each part being independently accessioned. For example, if a collection containing both zoological and ethnographical was donated, rather then being accessioned once for the whole collection it would be accessioned twice, once under natural history and once under ethnography. The data collected during the course of this research included (where possible) information on the number of specimens/objects per single accession, as described above. However, when examining the flow of material over time it was decided to focus on single accessions rather than the total number of specimens/objects donated because pilot analyses found no effect of donation size (the number of specimens and/or objects per accession) on acquisition flow. Moreover, the exact number of specimens/objects per accession was often not recorded accurately within the original accession registers, and so using single accessions was generally more reliable.

As already mentioned, each colonial accession recorded was categorised either as natural history or ethnography. In most cases this separation had already occurred, for example at Liverpool Museum there were separate accession books for both natural history and ethnographic material. In many annual reports, such as those of the Newcastle NHS, accessions were sub-divided into even smaller categories including mammalian, ornithological, reptilian and ethnographic collections. However, this was not always the case, natural history and ethnographic collections being integrated in one register, and in this scenario the object/specimen was assessed and assigned to a category. To do this, awareness that the categorisation of objects/specimens in the nineteenth century would not necessarily be the same as the categorisation made through the eyes of someone in the twenty-first century was vital. Mason (2004), using the example of the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which went on to form the basis of the New Museum of Scotland, highlights how classification systems used within museums change as time progresses (allowing objects and specimens to tell a variety of different stories over time). For this reason, the accessions which had already been categorised by the museum were used as guidelines to categorise those which were not. It has to be acknowledged therefore, that in some cases the decision was subjective and could be a potential source of unwanted variation in the data. However, it is not intended that this classification do any more than highlight

certain particularly broad patterns in the composition of the collections as a whole, and so is unlikely to be affected by small-scale variation.

The examination of accessions was followed by detailed research on the donors/collectors themselves. This frequently allowed any gaps in the collection of data previously described (both on the collections themselves and the collector/donor) to be filled. Using the data already collected on colonial acquisitions a list of the donors and/or collectors of this colonial material was compiled. Further research including biographical information, information relating to the collectors/donors relationship with the colonies from which their objects/specimens came from and information which revealed more about their connections or relationship with the museum to which their collections were accessioned, was then carried out. This information was gathered primarily from archival sources based within both the museum and the local studies section of the local town or city library.[2] Unpublished sources such as correspondence, committee minutes and diaries were consulted. Published sources including newspapers, annual reports, local directories, journal articles and biographical sketches were also used.

The final stage of the research was to investigate the development of each museum over time, in order to provide meaningful context to the accession of colonial material. This also included an examination of the geographical area within which the museum was located. The sources which were consulted to assess the development of the museum were primarily records of museum committee minutes and annual reports, as well as other published articles associated with the museum, such as museum catalogues, newspaper articles and accounts of museum histories. As is often the case in archival based research the availability of information varies enormously in each case and therefore the sources used from museum to museum were not always identical. Although preliminary visits to each museum (see section 2.4.2) gave an idea as to the sources to be consulted on follow up visits, it was often impossible to predict prior to the visit exactly what would be looked at, as information from one document often led to the consultation of another associated document.

To give context to this study an investigation of the flow of colonial material into national museums was also conducted (see chapter 3). To allow a comparison to be made

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[2] Archival sources consulted included the archives of the Natural History Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, Durham and Northumberland (held at the Hancock Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle by the Natural History Society of Northumbria), the archives of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (held at the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Library, 23 Westgate Road, Newcastle upon Tyne), the archives of the Liverpool Museum (held at the World Museum Liverpool and Liverpool Central Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool), the archives of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (held at the Leeds Museum Resource Centre, Moorfield Road Industrial Estate, Yeadon, Leeds and the Leeds University Library Special Collections), the archives of the Saffron Walden Natural History Society (held at the Saffron Walden Museum, Museum Street, Saffron Walden) and the archives of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (held at the Whitby Museum, Pannett Park, Whitby).

between the pattern of colonial acquisitions exhibited by provincial museums and those by national museums a survey was carried out using the British Museum's (1904b) *The History of the Collections Contained in the Natural History Department of the British Museum, Vol. 2*. This lists all the principal donors, collectors and agents from whom specimens of zoology were received, both through donation and purchase from the 1830s to 1904. For each sub-section within the Department of Zoology (birds, mammals, reptiles, fishes, anthrozoa, arachnida, insects, myriapoda, crustacean, echinoderma, annelids and mollusca), acquisitions which included specimens from the British colonies of Africa, India and Australia were recorded, along with their dates of accession (see section 3.3.4).

2.4.4 Analysis of data

Quantitative information collated in the form of colonial acquisitions was analysed in a number of ways, both spatially and temporally. Initially, the pattern of colonial acquisitions made by the British Museum over time was analysed (see section 3.3.4). In order to directly compare the acquisition rate between (a) individual museums and (b) common groups of museums (e.g. coastal vs. inland museums) it was necessary to standardise (scale) the absolute number of acquisitions per decade into a percentage scale for each museum. This was achieved by expressing the absolute number of acquisitions for each decade as a percentage of the total number of acquisitions received by that museum during the period of interest. For example, a museum that received 30 colonial acquisitions between 1861 and 1870 and 250 acquisitions over the whole period examined, would be said to have received 12% of its acquisitions during the 1860s. This procedure retained information on any changes observed in acquisition rate (any peaks and troughs observed in colonial acquisition flow would be relatively the same), while allowing direct comparisons to be made between individual museums. More importantly, this allowed data from more than one museum to be combined (by finding the mean percentage acquisitions per decade) without biasing this mean towards museums with a greater absolute number of acquisitions (see section 3.4). One problem encountered during this analysis was the lack of data for Liverpool Museum. Colonial acquisitions made by the Museum were only recorded up to 1900 rather than 1914, owing to the time constraints and the volume of accessions made by the Museum. It was decided however that Liverpool Museum should be included within the analysis as the same patterns were exhibited both with and without its inclusion. The same method was used to look separately at the flow of acquisitions from single colonies (see section 3.4.2) and of natural history and ethnographic material (see section 3.4.3).

In addition to the examination of the flow of acquisitions for all the case studies combined, each museum was analysed individually (in this case it was not the percentage but the absolute number of acquisitions which was analysed). The same features were looked at: the acquisition of all colonial objects over time, the acquisition of colonial objects from single colonies and the acquisition of natural history and ethnography. These were then compared to other museums with special account being taken of the geographical location of the museums. Finally, in the case of Leeds PLS and Whitby LPS, a comparison was made between the number of colonial acquisitions and the number of all acquisitions made over time (see sections 8.3.1 & 5.4 and Figures 8.4 & 5.10). These two case studies were chosen because data on all acquisitions was easily accessible, previously being collated onto a database.

There is one possible limitation to this method of data collection, that is, using the dates of accession to track the flow of colonial acquisitions. In some cases the date of museum acquisition bears no resemblance to the date of field collection. This therefore may disguise historical themes relating to British colonial activity. However, other studies have been carried out using acquisition dates rather than collections dates (e.g. Jones 2001) and have found correlations between the dates of acquisitions (and the people who collected and donated this material) and events which occurred at the level of Empire. Unfortunately it would have been impossible to find out the collection date of each acquisition, owing to a lack of data associated with accessions. Rather than minimise the number of case studies used, this study has tried to minimise the effects of this time lag between collection date and acquisition date by analysing data by decades rather than years of accession. It is acknowledged however this will not completely eliminate this time lag, for example, donations were often made on the death of the collector which could have been many decades after the objects were originally collected. The method of using acquisition dates should however correlate with other events, for example those which occurred at the level of the museum.

Content analysis was used to examine documents associated with the collectors and museums. This was an indirect method of gaining data as the documents being analysed were not produced for this purpose. In this analysis the context of the data, for example, the purpose of the document as well as its cultural, social and institutional context was taken into account (Robson 1993: 272-281). Investigations carried out on collectors gave a variety of short biographical sketches. Whilst analysing this information and writing biographical sketches, the pitfalls of writing biographies were taken into account. Each source from which information was gathered was carefully considered (e.g. Homberger & Charmley 1988; Shortland & Yeo 1996). Letters for example, can mislead as they are written in different moods and for different purposes. The cultural, social and political contexts of the lives of those analysed were also taken into account and, although the biographical sketches were

based on facts, obviously I have interpreted them, so I was careful to disregard pre-conception in order to give a true account of individuals.

3 Capturing the colonies: British museums and the impact of Empire

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 alluded that during the nineteenth century, when the power of the British was exerted across the globe, there was an accompanying movement of natural history and ethnographic material from the newly-acquired colonies to British museums. This chapter is concerned with the general trends which occurred in the movement of this material from British colonies to English museums. It examines the patterns of colonial acquisitions experienced by both national and provincial museums. The main focus of this thesis is the development of the provincial museum in relation to the acquisition of colonial collections, but in order to give both background and context to this research, it is important to examine the situation within the framework of national museums during this period. This is especially pertinent because national museums acted as an influential force on provincial museums, often setting trends which provincial museums would emulate. Van Keuren (1984: 171) for instance describes provincial museum as emulators of the national depositories. One example of the influence of national museums can be seen at the Chadwick Museum, Bolton. The Town Council of Bolton was offered a donation of £1000 towards costs of equipment and purchase of exhibits on the condition that the Museum would open on Sunday. Although a very generous and much needed offer, it was declined as the Council felt the lead on Sunday opening should be taken from the National Museum (British Museum) who had decreed that the museum and galleries in the capital should not be open on this day (Hamer 1938: 73). Kavanagh (1990: 14) takes the idea of the national museum as a role-model one step further. She suggests that local museums were formed by the indiscriminate employment of the national museum model on their institution:

> In the provinces the trappings of the new museums, from Leicester to Liverpool, were formed more in response to the great museums in London and the ideas they represented than to local needs.

Sheet-Pyenson (1988: 6-8) also alludes to the influence of national museums, in this case, the provincial museums turning to the British Museum (Natural History), for advice on many aspects of museum practice.

The proposal that provincial museums emulate national museums may be important in terms of the acquisition and exhibition of colonial material. The trends displayed by the

nationals, for example the attitudes towards and the efforts made to acquire and display this material, may have been indicative of the trends occurring at the provincial museum (for further discussion on this subject see section 9.2.4). As my primary interest lies with English museums, the British Museum, which was the first national museum in England (and indeed the world) and the British Museum (Natural History), which branched off from the main Museum in the 1880s, will be used as case studies for further investigation.[1] This will be followed by an examination of the combined flow of acquisitions into five provincial museums in England, which includes a review of the flow of acquisitions of different provenances (African, Australian and Indian) (see section 3.4.2) and collection type (see section 3.4.3). At this stage the museums will not be analysed separately (see chapters 4 to 8) but will be considered as one whole entity (for methodology see section 2.4.4). This will allow a comparison between national and provincial museums to be made, as well as giving an idea of the overall flow of colonial acquisitions into England rather than just individual towns or cities.

In order to determine the effect of colonialism on the flow of acquisitions from the British colonies of Africa, Australia and India, to both provincial and national museums in England, it is vital that British relations with these colonies are examined. Although Britain's Empire did grow over the century in terms of population and territory, peaking in the early years of the twentieth century, colonial activity was concentrated in different areas during different periods of time (see section 1.4), which may well have had an effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions.

3.2 British colonial activity

The subsequent historical accounts of the British colonial activity in Australia, India and Africa, looking particularly at how these areas were colonised and the attitudes of the British towards these colonies, have been compiled using the following sources, all of which are well known records of British colonial history: Ferguson (2003), Fieldhouse (1982), Porter (1999a) James (1994) and Judd (1997). Other specific references used are cited within the text.

[1] It is vital that the complex issue of nation and national museums is acknowledged. Although the British Museum gave a global perspective exhibiting objects from throughout the world (as is illustrated throughout this chapter), this did not mean it lacked national interest. For further information on the subject of nation and national museums see Mason (2004).

3.2.1 British colonial history of Africa

European exploration and colonial contact with Africa began in the fifteenth century when the Portuguese, through a series of voyages of exploration, circumnavigated the continent of Africa and claimed large areas of its coastlands. Here they established forts and trading stations, chiefly dealing in the commodities of slaves, gold, ivory and spices (Russell-Wood 1998). Following this activity, other nations were drawn to Africa's coast, the English, Spaniards, Dutch, French and Danish, owing to the availability of gold and slaves. This intensive commercial contact continued from the seventeenth until the early nineteenth century.

British interests in Africa during the eighteenth century were dominated by the slave trade, which at this point was at its peak (Postma 2003); the trade in gold, ivory, gum and spices was small in comparison. These commercial interests were predominantly concentrated on the West coast by all countries apart from the Portuguese who also had bases on the East (Russell-Wood 1998). There was no attempt by the British to establish any proper colonies on the continent. Private companies were left to gain from West African trade, for example the Royal African Company (granted a charter in 1672) had forts and factories in Gambia, Cape Coast Castle and the Gold Coast. The Company lasted until 1750 when it was no longer commercially viable to maintain permanent bases simply for the slave trade. The British forts however were retained for the fear that Britain might lose its foothold on the Gold Coast. Nearly two centuries of British activity produced no significant expansion of territory or influence, by 1815 Britain had only two Royal colonies, Senegambia (the first real British colony in Africa [1765]) and Sierra Leone (a settlement for liberated slaves [1787]) as well as several trading forts in West Africa. Britain, and indeed other European nations remained on the periphery of Africa, its interior remaining unexplored. Colonisation of Africa had not been of importance to them during this period, however, the contact they had made up to this point was built upon in the nineteenth century.

Curtin (1964: 289-478) has referred to the period of 1830 to 1852 as the period of 'humanitarianism'. Not only did this era mark the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 (the British doing their best to combat the trade; see for example Anstey 1975) but also an intense period of missionary activity. After the slave trade was banned, Britons, especially the humanitarians involved in its abolition, went over to Africa to try and convert Africans to Christianity. Their aim was to enlighten the 'Dark Continent'. They did not just stay in the coastal areas but penetrated inland, marking the beginning of Britain's interest in the interior of Africa. It was accompanied by intense geographical exploration (e.g. Hugon 1993). David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary and explorer, carried out a number of expeditions. He

was the first Briton to discover Lake Ngami and Victoria Falls; his discoveries causing major revisions of contemporary maps (e.g. Sharp 1920). From time to time, the British government sponsored expeditions into the interior, mainly by explorers and missionaries. This not only facilitated the anti-slavery activities promoted by mission societies but also helped to discover sources of raw materials that private merchants might exploit through commerce with the native peoples. For example, the exploration of the full course of the River Niger led to the establishment of trading and mission stations in the interior of West Africa (Curtin 1964: 289-317).

Although contact with Africa was maintained through trade, missionary activity and exploration, there was only a small expansion in territory, which included the acquisition of Danish (1850) and Dutch (1872) forts to seal off the Gold Coast, as well as Lagos (1861) on the East and Natal (1842) and the other Boer settlements (1848) in the South. However, this was nothing compared to the final two decades of the century which marked the 'Scramble for Africa' (e.g. Brooke-Smith 1987 & Chamberlain 1999). There is great debate about what caused this intense activity, possibly a combination of factors including: economic, strategic, cultural, domestic and industrial issues. To avoid conflict between European nations for African territory, European leaders met in Berlin, Germany, in 1884 at a conference initiated by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. During this conference, without the consent of the Africans, and with limited knowledge of the land they had taken, guidelines were drawn up to decide how Africa should be divided up. It was decided that any sovereign power which wanted to claim any territory should inform the other powers and any such annexation should be validated by effective occupation. Treaties with African rulers were to be considered a valid title to sovereignty. The result of the conference was the Treaty of Berlin. It could be argued that this treaty, 'legalising' territory claiming by European nations, caused the competitive rush for territory in Africa. By 1900 almost 90% of Africa was under European control, only Liberia and Ethiopia remained independent. Between 1885 and 1914 Britain took nearly 30% of Africa's population under its control. British Africa consisting of: Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, British Somaliland, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Orange Free State, British South Africa, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the British Gold Coast. The British were primarily interested in maintaining secure communication lines to India, which led to initial interest in Egypt and South Africa. Once these two areas were secure, it was the intent of British colonialists such as Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) to establish a Cape to Cairo railway.

During this period Africa was portrayed by the British as an exotic and savage country. The people of Africa were described as degraded and degenerate (e.g. Coombes 1994: 48-57). This was particularly the case at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century during the period of the Scramble for Africa. The British press used this image of

Africa to justify British colonial possession, their argument being that through colonialism they could 'civilise' African society. For example, there was large coverage in the press of the killing of the British by Africans in order to portray them as savages. They also used aspects of their culture such as polygamy and nakedness to illustrate this. Areas which had been under British control for sometime, such as Old Calabar (Nigeria) portrayed images of clothed women, compared to new conquests, such as Benin, where women were naked. This was an attempt to illustrate the beneficial impact of British colonialism. Within the press there was no emphasis of the advantages gained by the British in claiming colonies in Africa, which predominantly portrayed the image of a savage degenerate society which was being improved by the British (Coombes 1994: 11-22). Whilst the colonisation of Africa occurred relatively late on in the nineteenth century, the colonisation of Australia, which will be described next, occurred much earlier.

3.2.2 British colonial history of Australia

Up until the mid eighteenth century, very little was known about the continent of Australia. This was despite the fact that since AD150-60 there was speculation about its existence, with the geographer Ptolemy sketching a huge landmass on a map in the place of Australia, naming it 'Terra Australis' or the South Land (Steven 1988: 8). It was not however until the 1600s that a serious effort was made to discover and find out more about this unknown land. This effort was partly owing to philosophical curiosity, but also due to the pressures brought about by the need to build an Empire out of Europe which would help to give economic and political wellbeing. There are suggestions of Asian and Portuguese contact with Australia in the 1400s and 1500s but it was not until the early 1600s that any significant discoveries about Australia were made. In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros set sail from Peru under Spain's King Philip III. He successfully reached the New Hebrides, of which he took possession on the behalf of Spain. However, on his return, his efforts to persuade the Spanish government to continue this exploration failed. The Dutch explorers were the next Europeans to begin to chart the new continent. The Dutch were in fact the first recorded Europeans to land on the Australian mainland. Firstly with Willam Jans (1606), who sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then 17 years later by Jan Carstensz who mapped and named the main features of the Western coast. By that time other Dutch navigators had reached parts of the Northern and Western coasts of Australia naming it New Holland. Abel Tasman, who roughly charted the coast from Cape York to the Ashburton, made some of the most important discoveries. He also discovered New Zealand and Van Dieman's Land (now named Tasmania

after him). It was during these voyages of exploration that the first notes of the Australian environment and wildlife were made (Steven 1988: 6-13).

The first Englishman to set foot on Australia in 1688 was an adventurer named William Dampier, landing on New Holland's North-eastern coast. On his return he published an account of his journey *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) and persuaded the Admiralty to back another venture for which he left England in 1699 on the HMS *Roebuck* with a crew of 50 men. Again on his return, he published his journal *A Voyage to New Holland* (1703) which contained the first published illustrations of Australia's flora and fauna. This was the beginning of publications about the curiosities and possible commercial value of New Holland. The British government showed its interest, backing several voyages, in the hope that an empire of commerce may be established in the Eastern seas (Steven 1988: 11-13). It was the Royal Society who persuaded King George III to back a scientific voyage to the South Seas to observe the transit of Venus. In 1768 the *Endeavour* set sail from Plymouth led by Captain James Cook, one of the most skilled navigators of the time. In 1770 the *Endeavour* anchored at Botany Bay (named after the rich variety of plant life he found there), and claimed the land that became known as New South Wales. The objectives of this voyage, as well as observing the transit of Venus, were exploration and the collection of scientific data and materials. Cook was aware that Australia would be a valuable addition to the British Empire, the data and specimens he brought back to Britain potentially being used to the country's advantage.

After claiming possession of New South Wales the British decided to settle there in 1787. The King announced that as a solution to relieve the pressure on their prisons, which had intensified after losing the American colonies, convicts would be sent to settle in Australia. However, this simple picture is quite controversial as others suggest that there may have been other reasons for its colonisation. For example, to establish a stronghold for British trade in the Eastern seas (as it was well known that the South Pacific could provide mast timber and flax, all of which were needed for naval supplies), or to act as a base from which to launch attacks on Spanish South America (Ward 1975: 24). The government planned to develop an economy in the region through convict labour on government farms and by giving former convicts their own small plots for subsistence farming. In May 1787 the first fleet of 11 ships and transport vessels set sail for Botany Bay. Governor Philips was in charge of the party of 1030 people, 736 of whom were convicts. Another party of 1864 convicts was sent out in 1791. After landing first at Botany Bay, they moved northward to Port Jackson and its harbour Sydney Cove; the city of Sydney growing out of this development. The following years were difficult ones for all settlers. They had to face problems such as bad land, pests, disease, hostile aborigines and shrinking supplies (Shaw 1972: 31-43). By 1819 New South Wales was opened to free settlers and by 1821 the colony was flourishing with a sound

economy and a population of 38,000. In 1853 transportation of convicts was abolished and a number of migrants were brought out to fill the labour demand.

From settlement in the eighteenth century, through to the nineteenth century, Australia was a continent explored by land and sea. George Bass (1771-1803), a naval surgeon, and Matthew Flinders (1774-1814), a naval officer (both British), became the most famous postsettlement explorers. By 1801 Flinders had virtually completed the charting of Australia, confirming that Australia was a single landmass. He urged that Australia replace New Holland as its name, this suggestion receiving official backing in 1817 (Steven 1988: 70-79). Exploration by land was very difficult due to the rugged nature of its landscape, but was often driven by the quest to find fertile land suitable for settlement. The mountain barriers caused a problem for inland explorers and it was not until 1813 that Lawson, Blaxland and Wentworth crossed the barrier of the Blue Mountains (e.e Shaw 1972). One of the greatest inland journeys was carried out by Charles Sturt (1795-1869), solving the mystery of Central Australia. He found the outlet of the unknown river systems in the salt lakes of the interior.

Important new colonies were founded on remote parts of the Australian coastline and much of the habitable interior was effectively occupied pastorally. At the same time the colonies were moving steadily towards self-government (Ward 1975: 45-68). In 1850 the Imperial parliament passed an Act for the Better Governing of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies. An important point in the colonial history of Australia was the discovery of gold in 1851 on the Western slopes of the Blue Mountains. This resulted in a sudden increase in both population and wealth. In the decade subsequent to the gold rush the white population nearly trebled and the gross value of exports and national wealth increased proportionately (Ward 1975: 69-96; Shaw 1972: 123-136; Wilson 1987: 91-98). Following these gold discoveries libraries and art galleries were opened in colonial capitals and in 1852 the Australian Museum was founded in Sydney (Ward 1975: 69-96). From the 1860s onwards, the rush of immigration caused by gold slowed down, the number of new generations of 'Australians' increased which caused a new sense of nationalism (*ibid.*: 97-125). Before the end of the century five Australian colonies - New South Wales, Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland (and the island colony of Tasmania) - had achieved self-government; an act of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster creating the federal commonwealth of Australia, an independent dominion, in 1901.

Owing to the uniqueness of Australia's environment people's curiosity led to the collection of its natural history and material culture:

> To European eyes, Australia had relic forms of nature and primitive people. It was a land of living fossils, a continental museum where the past was made present in nature. (Griffiths 1996: 9)

By the end of the eighteenth century there was much British interest in exotic natural history, of which Australia was a prime target. This is reflected by books published such as Lewin's *Birds of New Holland* (1808) and George Gray's *Entomology of New Holland* (1833). Exploration also gave the perfect opportunity to collect exotic specimens. Naturalists were especially interested in Australia, as nature seemed the complete reverse of that known in Britain. The seasons were the opposite way round to those experienced in Britain, the wildlife was like nothing seen before, for example, marsupials such as kangaroos, wombats, wallabies and the duckbilled platypus laid eggs but still suckled their young. Natural features such as rivers were even 'abnormal' as they flowed away from the sea, not towards it. This interest in Australian natural history was reflected back in Britain with a number of menageries having Australian animals, such as the kangaroo, as their top exhibits. There were a number of publications released around this time that portrayed Australian nature as whimsical and freakish such as James O'Hara in his *History of New South Wales* (1817) and Barron Field in his *First Fruits of Australian Poetry* (1819) (Smith 1960: 158-176). The Aboriginal society was also looked upon with interest, labelled as a biological and cultural relic (e.g Griffiths 1996; Smith 1960: 158-176; Bennett 2004).

By the mid-nineteenth century there was intense interest in natural history. The 1830s and 1840s saw the formation of a number of local groups of natural history enthusiasts in Australia. Local activity was a bonus to visiting scientists who could use this local-knowledge to gain information about local wildlife, as well as acquire specimens. A number of prominent scientists made visits to Australia, including Charles Darwin (1809-1882)[2], Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911),[3] Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895)[4] and John Gould (1804-1881)[5] (Smith 1960: 6).

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[2] Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was a geologist, naturalist and the originator of the theory of evolution by natural selection. His principal works, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) challenged the contemporary beliefs about the creation of life on earth (Desmond *et al.* 2004).

[3] Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911) was an eminent botanist and director of Kew Botanical Gardens. He travelled to the Antarctic and India, and made many botanical discoveries. His works include *Flora Antarctica* (1844–47), *Genera plantarum* (1862–83), and *Flora of British India* (1875–97) (Endersby 2004).

[4] Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) was a scientist and great supporter of Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution through natural selection. He took part in a number of naval expeditions and was an expert on plankton (Desmond 2004)

[5] John Gould (1804-1881) was author some of the most distinguished ornithological works ever produced, *A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains* (1831-32) and the five-volume *Birds of Europe* (1832-37). He spent time in Australia collecting birds and mammals (1838-1840) and was also a taxidermist for the Zoological Society of London (Sauer 2004)

3.2.3 British colonial history of India

The early nineteenth century was a time of great excitement about Australia, as it was still new and unexplored. British contact with India however, which will be described in this section can be traced back much further. The British colony of India was unique in the history of British colonialism. British attitudes and behaviour towards India, were very different to that of its other colonies. It was unique in a number of ways, for example, its great size and population provided Britain with both political and military power, maintaining an army of some 150,000. The British colonised India simply by defending their trade and consolidating initial footholds, allowing them to safeguard and develop the land they inherited from the Moguls, making it into one of the greatest powers in the East.

In the seventeenth century Mogul Emperors ruled India. It was within this era that a British presence commenced in India through the formation of the East India Company (EIC) in 1600 (for further information on the EIC see Lawson 1993). The EIC was formed to share in the East Indian spice trade, which previously had been a monopoly of Spain and Portugal. This was made possible following the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588), but did not come without opposition from the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) and the Portuguese. However, the Company's defeat of the Portuguese in India (1612) won them trading concessions from the Mogul Empire, the Company acquiring its first territory in Bombay (now Mumbai) in 1615. The EIC settled down to a trade in cotton and silk piece goods, indigo, saltpetre, and spices from South India. It extended its activities to the Persian Gulf, Southeast Asia and East Asia, and by the 1740s the EIC had factories in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, both importing and exporting goods. Although starting as a monopolistic trading body, from the 1750s onwards the Company started to become involved in politics and acted as an agent of British imperialism in India from the early eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

Around this time India was beginning to break down into a number of regional states, within which conflicts began to occur and European support was asked for and granted. Retaliation by the British to quash a rebellion led by Nawab of Bengal in 1756 caused many provincial princes, in order to preserve their independence, to make agreements with the British in return for their protection. The Company therefore evolved from a trading company to a ruling enterprise, dealing with political matters. A few years later it received permission from the Moguls to collect land revenue from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the East Coast. The 'Doctrine of Lapse' allowed the company to obtain more territories by allowing them to annex territories of a ruler who died without an heir. This increased the Company's power immensely, although it still had a number of enemies, one of the most feared being the Sultan of Mysore. In 1799 the Company's army, led by Wellesley, the Governor-general, conquered

Mysore and killed the Sultan's heir Tipu; a very popular portrayed scene by British artists, for example *The Last Effort and Fall of Tippoo Sultaun* by J. Rogers after Henry Singleton (1766-1839) painted in 1802 and the painting of Sir David Baird discovering the body of Tipu Sultan by Sir David Wilkie in 1838 (Mackenzie 1999). Tipu adopted the tiger as the emblem for his state, which was placed on almost everything he owned. This included a mechanical invention of a tiger consuming a European officer, which after Tipu's defeat was taken by the British as a trophy of victory and displayed at the East India Company Museum (Buddle 1999). Looting, as demonstrated by the case of the mechanical tiger, became a part of any victorious war. For example, after the besiege of Bharatpur in 1825 it was noted that there were:

> soldiers carrying off gold necklaces, jewellery and camel-hair shawls, while others dug up the floors of houses in search of cash buried by their owners, a common precaution against looters and tax-collectors. (James 1994: 130)

Many British men were attracted to wars and political situations in India at this time as it often involved wealth. Princes were known to give gifts (usually in the form of large amounts of money) to those who helped them. Administrative positions in India were well known for the channelling of money into ones own pocket and officers also earned a considerable amount of money for their efforts. During the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, India was the place where many of the second sons of titled families (who would not inherit the family estate, and consequently had to choose between the Church and the Army) went as army officers to make their fortunes. The British were more or less welcome (indeed, there were a number of highly connected Anglo-Indian families) until the mid-nineteenth century and the Indian Mutiny. Almost every upper and upper middle-class British family had some connection with the EIC, as did many other families who had relatives working in India as soldiers, sailors and traders.

As already mentioned, India was very different to other British colonies, and this is reflected in the way it was governed. The British inherited what was already there in the form of the Mogul Empire, and only made changes when absolutely necessary. In 1708 the EIC amalgamated with a rival company to become the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. When the Company acquired control of Bengal in 1757, Indian policy was until 1773 influenced by shareholders' meetings, where votes could be bought by the purchase of shares. This led to government intervention. The Regulating Act (1773) and Pitt's India Act (1784) established government control of political policy through a regulatory board responsible to Parliament. By the 1800s British political domination of India was accepted and the colony had become one of the most important in the entire Empire. As well

as the economic wealth it offered Britain, it also offered a military wealth through recruiting Indians to the army, by 1815 the Company had the most powerful army in Europe. As time went on the EIC made further progress, gaining more territory and making their own laws, so that by the mid-eighteenth century the Company controlled a considerable portion of India. From simply being present as trade outposts, the EIC ended the eighteenth century with militarily dominance over South India, extending its influence up towards the North.

The nineteenth century saw the end of the EIC ruling of India. The catalyst to this was the Great Mutiny of the Indian Army in 1857, which has been described by some as the first Indian war of independence. The Mutiny began in Meeryt in May 1857 when a number of Indian soldiers rebelled and killed their officers. It took British troops, aided by Sikhs and Gurkas, over a year to put down the rebellion. A combination of factors caused the out break of the Mutiny. Its immediate cause was the use of the cartridge of the new Enfield rifle, which was rumoured to have been greased with cow- and pig-fat. The two religious groups, the Hindus and Moslems, were highly offended by this as the cow is seen as sacred to the Hindus and the pig is considered unclean by the Moslems. The deeper causes of the Mutiny were resentment over the Westernization of India and fear that native customs, religions, and social structures would be lost. The British had disposed of landlords and attacked religious and social order. Christian missionaries assaulted their religion and Indian traditions were changing, for example, the British introduced new roads systems and railways. Relationships between the British officers and Indian soldiers were also fractured.

The Mutiny had a number of outcomes. Firstly, it caused a change in attitudes to the way the British ruled the Indians, both from a British and Indian point of view. The British realised that Indian traditions must be respected and they must guard these traditions. This led to the India Act (1858), which abolished the East India Company and transferred its powers to the Crown, the beginning of the British Raj, which was the period when the UK directly ruled the Indian subcontinent. Another chief outcome was the exile of Bahadur Shah Zafar, The Last Mogul Emperor, bringing an end to the Mogul Empire. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1877. The Mutiny also had an effect on the thoughts of the British living in the UK. Many British people felt betrayed by the Indians with whom they thought they had befriended. The murdering of innocent women and children by Indians was often the focus of the British press. After the Mutiny the British were very conservative and conserved social customs, legal customs and religions. By the late nineteenth century the British had improved law and order, given an advanced system of centralized government, good police and army as well as communication networks such as roads, railways and canals which improved industry and agriculture. However, throughout this the Indians retained their own identity and developed their own cultures, which led to the emergence of a modern India by the end of the nineteenth century.

3.2.4 Conclusions

Accounts of the interactions of the British with the colonies of India, Australia and Africa are included here in order to illustrate: 1) the intense relations and contact the British had with these places, 2) the individuality of these relations, 3) the attitudes of the British towards these colonies and 4) the opportunities which the British had to collect, for example, looting in India and exploration in Africa and Australia (and obviously generally through the direct contact they had, for example, through immigrants and British workers). The attitudes displayed by the British towards these colonies, for example, the 'primitive' people of Africa, and the 'strange' natural history of Australia, may have proved important in the way this material was viewed when displayed in English museums. Pearce (1992: 24-31) identifies the ability of real objects within the museum environment to act as signs, bringing the past to the present and at the same time forming a metaphorical relationship with the original sign, resulting in a symbolic re-interpretation.[6] Metaphorically, colonial material that was taken from these colonial outposts and displayed in nineteenth-century English provincial museums stands for something beyond itself. The semiotic analyses of Barthes (1977) and Leach (1976) can be used to explain how colonial material bore messages both as intrinsic signs and metaphorical symbols (Pearce 1992: 24-31). To do this it is first necessary to define some semiotic terms: *langue* which is 'the body of social understanding which must operate through a social action of some kind' (Pearce 1992:26) and *parole* 'action, spoken sentence or performed deed, by means of which each society creates itself and continues its daily life' (*ibid.*). The combination of the two, *langue* (signified) and *parole* (signifier) equal the *signe* (or *sign*), which is itself defined as 'a social construct which members of the group can recognize and understand' (*ibid.*).

Using an Aboriginal boomerang as an example, it is interesting to apply these semiotic analytical techniques to reveal the metaphors which they symbolise. The *langue* of Australian Aborigine society in the late eighteenth century would be to use natural materials to produce weapons and hunting implements to obtain food. The boomerang then is a *signe*, of hunting or fighting, created by the combination of the *langue* (signified) and the physical form (signifier). However, it is evident that the *langue* of Victorian society would have differed markedly to that of the Aborigines, and so the boomerang was not only seen as a *signe*, but interpreted as a metaphorical symbol. During this era British power was expanding across the globe through successful colonial conquests, and whilst taking over these Other lands, also incorporated their natural and material culture (for example, the boomerang). The

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[6] It should be noted however that this is a structuralist rather than a poststructuralist approach, which Pearce (1992: 166-191) does recognise as having limitations. A poststructuralist approach looks more at how meanings change overtime and in different contexts, which is lacking in a structuralist approach.

past *parole* of the object as identified above would become part of the new contemporary *langue* (Pearce 1992: 27) allowing this material to act as a symbol of this British Imperial endeavour. With deeper examination, the more possible interpretations appear and the less directed this symbol becomes. For example, from the point of view of nineteenth-century British society, whose weapons included firearms, the boomerang as a weapon could have been a symbol of the primitive nature of Aboriginal society. The same process can be applied to natural history specimens. The original context of an Australian duck-billed platypus, to the Aborigines, would have been as a part of their natural environment as well as a source of food. In the museum in Britain, as well as being a sign of this original context, it could be re-interpreted as a sign of British colonial success and power, or the strange or Other lands that were now 'British' (the way in which this material was displayed and viewed will be discussed further in section 9.4).

This chapter will continue by examining the flow of both natural history and ethnographic material from these colonies into the British Museum. In particular it will examine how the historical events described may have influenced the flow of this material from the colonies to the British Museum, or if other factors closer to home also played a part.

3.3 Capturing colonies in national museums: the British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History)

3.3.1 Foundation of the British Museum

The British Museum (BM) received colonial material throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Wilson 2002; Caygill 2002); indeed the collection that acted as the foundation stone of the BM included colonial material. The BM was founded in 1753 by an Act of Parliament primarily to house the collections bequeathed to the nation by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), physician, naturalist, traveller and collector (Wilson 1989: 13). Sloane had a universal collecting policy. His collections contained examples of West Indian botany, native American artefacts and Chinese paintings, to name but a few. He himself travelled to Jamaica as a physician where he spent a total of 15 months, during this time taking the opportunity to compile collections of Jamaican plants, molluscs, insects, fish and many other specimens (MacGregor 1994). From its establishment therefore, the Museum contained collections from all over the world, including the British colonies such as the sugar plantations of Jamaica. The content of Sloane's collection was extremely influential on the type of material that the Museum received in its future years, for example, the presence amongst his collection of a number of ethnographical specimens (though relatively few) was

of paramount importance in coaxing other acquisitions of this nature. Miller (1973: 75) comments that:

> the fact that the Museum from the very beginning had possessed examples of arts and crafts of native peoples undoubtedly led to other and more valuable objects of the same kind being sent to join them.

3.3.2 Accessions of the eighteenth century

The eighteenth century saw a number of important collections accessioned by the Museum. These were categorised and placed within the following three departments, 'Printed books, Maps, Globes and Drawings', 'Manuscripts, Medals and Coins', and 'Natural and Artificial Productions'. It was within this final department that colonial natural history and ethnographic objects were deposited (Alexander 1996: 45). The acquisitions of the late eighteenth century that are particularly noticeable, not only from those of a colonial nature but all acquisitions, are those collected on voyages of exploration (see section 1.8.1). The three Pacific voyages made by Captain James Cook (1728-1779) between 1767 and 1779 were particularly fruitful in terms of museum acquisitions (Caygill 2002). Sir Joseph Banks, Daniel Solander (1733-1782)[7], and Captain James Cook were all donors of collections to the BM (natural history specimens as well as native productions), which they themselves made whilst on these voyages. Cook himself is thought to have donated a Tahitan mourning dress and a kangaroo (said to be the first seen in Europe) (Miller 1973: 75) and Sir Joseph Banks was particularly instrumental in obtaining and presenting numerous animals in spirit, collected by himself on the *Endeavour* with Cook (and also collections made by Cook on his subsequent voyages) (Caygill 2002: 18). The trend of collecting and donating collections made on exploratory voyages continued, for example in 1796 Archibald Menzies (1754-1842)[8] donated a collection of natural and artificial curiosities from North West America and the

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[7] Daniel Solander (1733-1782) was a pupil of Linnaeus before being appointed in the Department of Natural and Artifical Productions of the British Museum. He was appointed by Joseph Banks in 1768 to join him on Cook's first voyage to the Pacific (Stearn 1998).

[8] Archibald Menzies (1754-1842) was a naval surgeon and explorer. He accompanied Captain Vancouver on his round-the-world voyage (1791-1795) in the *Discovery* on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks. This included exploration of the West Australian coastline. Menzies made a large number of dried and living collections, particularly Proteaceae. Specimens were forwarded to Banks from Sydney, others returned with the ship in 1796 (Galloway & Groves 1987).

South Sea Islands which were collected whilst on a round the world voyage in the *Discovery* (1791-1795) under Captain Vancouver (1758-1798)[9] (Galloway & Groves 1987).

The collections made on these exploratory voyages proved very popular with the public and it was suggested by the Admiralty that they should be displayed as symbols of British colonial success (Miller 1973: 75). By the end of the eighteenth century the Museum had a whole room (the Otaheite or South Seas Room) devoted to the display of collections made during voyages of discovery, incorporating both ethnographical and natural history collections (Malcolm 1803; Caygill 2002: 18). These included those collected on Cook's three voyages to the Pacific and were supplemented later by those who subsequently travelled to this area of British colonial success in the nineteenth century (Wilson 2002: 76).

3.3.3 Ethnographic collections

From this promising beginning, the Museum continued to receive numerous colonial ethnographic gifts (which proved popular with the public). However, the patterns with which these collections were received changed over time. To understand these changes, it is necessary to have knowledge of the changing status of ethnography within the BM throughout the century. During the early years of the Museum's history, ethnographic material was only passively accessioned, the majority received as gifts, and although these gifts were ranked highly by the Museum, ethnography did not have its own department until 1946. Up until this time ethnography was grouped with other collections, firstly within Natural and Artificial Productions, followed by a move away from natural history to the Department of Antiquities, of which they formed an 'unimportant part' (Digby 1971: 105). During the first half of the nineteenth century ethnography was severely neglected, material continuing to be passively received. Even so, there was an expansion in its display, the South Sea Room which was always popular with the public, was transformed to illustrate customs of different nations: theology, religion, government, commerce, manufacturers and trades. It expanded its geographical coverage from the Pacific, to all continents, which included many British colonies. Gifts were continually arriving; brought home by travellers, for example, in 1825 Captain Marryat (1792-1848), the novelist and naval captain, gave a colossal figure of Gaudma, a Burmese deity, and many other small collections from Africa, Mexico, Australia and the Arctic were also secured (Digby 1971: 105-126). The rapid expansion of these collections, especially those of the Pacific can be correlated with the rush to gain colonies at

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[9] Captain George Vancouver was an important explorer of Puget Sound, United States. He served for 25 years in the British Navy, and commanded the *Discovery* on her expedition to the North Pacific (Naish 1994).

the time, which was followed by intense scientific and missionary activity. The majority of the finest objects in the collection were almost exclusively made by naval officers or colonial governors (*ibid.*: 113).

Following the transfer of this material in 1836 to the Department of Antiquities, more care and attention was paid to these collections which were previously treated as unwanted objects by the naturalists. This change of heart can be accounted for by the positive attitude towards these collections by the keeper of the Department at that time, Edward Hawkins (1780-1867). However, even he was unsuccessful in persuading the Board of Trustees to purchase ethnographical objects, the Trustees not wanting to spend money on anything but classical statuary at this point. They gave ethnographical collections very little significance and even suggested that they should be kept elsewhere (Miller 1973: 221). In the 1860s there was more change; on the retirement of Hawkins in 1861, the Department of Antiquities was divided into Coins and Medals, Greek and Roman Antiquities and Oriental Antiquities leaving the ethnographic collection with British Antiquities to form the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography. This later evolved into the Department of Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography (Digby 1971: 105). Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897) (who became keeper of these ethnographical objects in 1851) argued that ethnography and medieval collections, rather than be with oriental antiquities, should have a department of their own. In 1866 it was agreed that this should be the case, the Department of Oriental Antiquities was detached from ethnography and a new Department of British and Medieval Antiquities was formed under the keepership of Franks. This request was aided by the bequeathed Christy collection consisting of prehistoric artefacts and arts and crafts of native people, accompanied by a large amount of money which allowed the department to purchase many valuable collections of ethnography and prehistory (Miller 1973: 314).

It was at this point, under the influence of the keeper, A.W. Franks, that ethnography really began to flourish. He instigated and encouraged the active collection of ethnographical objects by travellers, missionaries and administrators. He even arranged the exchange of collections between the Museum and foreign collectors and other museums, taking on unwanted collections from a number of provincial museums and making contacts with colonial administrators of whom he requested to build up collections. He targeted them especially, as it was his intention that the collection should contain a full series of objects, not just those that looked 'beautiful', which the ordinary traveller tended to collect and donate (Wilson 2002: 157-161). The continued efforts of Franks during this period saw an increase in the geographical and cultural spread of the ethnographical collections. The quantity of ethnographical material accessioned increased exponentially in the 1860s and 70s, continuing into the latter part of the century. Franks reported that in his opinion, on the removal of the natural history collections (to the British Museum of Natural History), it would be the

ethnographical collections which would prove most popular to the majority of visitors. His successor, Sir Charles Hercules Read (keeper from 1896-1921), made this prediction a reality, claiming that indeed the ethnographical collections were 'next in popular interest to the Egyptian mummies' (Miller 1973: 317).

This description of the changing fortunes of ethnography in the British Museum has illustrated that from the foundation of the BM to the end of the nineteenth century, the rate of the flow of colonial acquisitions changed, increasing over time. This was not the only change to take place. Miller (1973: 318) suggests that the provenance of colonial material accessioned also changed over time. For example, the early ethnographical collections of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were primarily from explorers visiting Pacific and Oceania regions, whereas by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century there was a great influx of ethnographic collections primarily from Africa. This reflects changing British colonial interests, the Pacific (including Australia) being a prime target of British colonial interest at the beginning of the nineteenth century (see section 3.2.2) and Africa at the end of the century (see section 3.2.1).

Many missionaries and colonial officials who were part of this colonial regime rewarded the Museum with the efforts of their collecting. The catalyst for the growth of the African collection has been identified as the expedition to Benin, West Africa, in 1897, in which a large number of people brought amazing examples of bronze castings and ivory carvings (*ibid.*: 318). This period was also an important time for the development of ethnography outside the museum, its scientific and historical importance beginning to be widely recognised. At the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century ethnographic objects were viewed as curiosities and it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that they were widely looked upon as reflectors of culture (for explanation of the development of anthropology and ethnography see section 1.7). This was particularly well illustrated under the keepership of Franks, who made a concerted effort to collect everything possible before native products disappeared so to give a full record of dying cultures. The ethnographic collections in the museum by the end of the nineteenth century became central to the idea of social evolution, a time when Darwin's revolutionary ideas were being applied to man (Chapman 1985: 30-33; Gosden 1999: 27; see section 1.7) and also began to be looked upon with interest as art (Wilson 2002: 157-161).

3.3.4 Natural history collections

Foreign specimens (of natural history) formed a prominent proportion of the total acquired. Like ethnography, they included material from British colonies, for example, Steam (1998: 209) states that during the nineteenth century:

> year by year, the Museum acquired entomological material on a large scale from North America, New Zealand, Australia, the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores and elsewhere.

During the early years of the Museum, the natural history collection benefited from gifts of navigators and discoverers (similar to those described earlier in the case of ethnography), as well as wealthy gentlemen (such as Sir Joseph Banks) who were responsible for a number of the larger natural history collections accessioned in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Miller 1973: 20; Steam 1998: 20-21). In a similar scenario to ethnographic collections, natural history collections were labelled as curiosities, but unlike ethnography the status of natural history as a recognised scientific department came much earlier, at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Miller 1973: 224-244). However, this did not mean it did not experience problems. Complaints were made by the keeper that little or no cooperation was received from the government in obtaining specimens from abroad, nor did they feel that there was emphasis placed on the importance of obtaining specimens from returning explorers or travellers for the Museum, unlike in the case of private bodies such as the Zoological Society of London (*ibid.*: 141). However, when colonial material was received, curation and preservation carried out by the Museum was not always satisfactory. William Burchell (1782-1863)[10] for example, who donated 43 South African mammalian skins in 1817 was very upset at the state of his donations, many of which were described as unfit for display, and wrote several letters of complaint to the Museum (Pickering 1997). An extensive collection of fish collected during the voyage of *HMS Endeavour* (1768-1771) was left untreated as other duties at the British Museum left no time to deal with the collection. This resulted in the survival of only a small number of specimens (Davis 1993). At this time it was generally accepted that the collections were in a bad state, their preservation after accession being ignored. Standards were much lower than those of the Muséum Histoire Naturelle, Paris (Miller 1973: 225).

By the 1840s the natural history collections were at last steadily growing and the care given to them improved. This coincides with the appointment of John E. Gray (1800-1875) to

[10] William Burchell (1782-1863) was one of the earliest explorers of Africa. He was an accomplished naturalist, who amassed vast natural history collections and described many new species (Dickenson 2004).

the Department of Zoology (Gray acted as Keeper of Zoology from 1840-1874, before he was assigned this post he was assistant from 1824) (Wheeler 1995: 236). During this period the department was actively encouraging people to bring back material from the colonies, for example, 500 instruction booklets advising people how to collect natural history specimens were written and printed by the Zoological Department in 1837. Three hundred of these were sent to the Colonial Office asking them to distribute them in order to extend and improve the collections of the department (Miller 1973: 232). Equipment was even given to those who were travelling aboard, to assist the acquisition of foreign material. For example, Dr Albert Günther, Keeper of Zoology at the British Museum (1875-1895), gave Mary Kingsley[11] a large range of collectors' materials, before her journey to Africa (Birkett 2004). From this point onwards, the Museum was inundated with specimens from colonies throughout the world by prominent names such as F.C. Selous (1851-1917), the big game hunter who enriched the Museum with a great number of mammals from Africa. Collections from India were also rich, coming from many sources, including the Indian Museum of the Honourable East India Company. Other donors included Allen Octavian Hume (1829-1912) whose donation consisted of 63,000 bird skins, 19,000 eggs and 371 mammals all from the Indian Empire where he made collections between 1862 and 1885 (Steam 1998: 176). Sponsored expeditions were a great source of foreign and colonial natural history material. During this period when it was the thought that knowledge equated power (Richards 1993), the British government were keen to sponsor expeditions in the hope of acquiring knowledge. *HMS Challenger* (1872-1876), the world's first scientific expedition devoted to oceanography, provided the Museum with large numbers of specimens of great importance (e.g. Jones 1990).

The natural history material of the British Museum was supplemented by a number of established societies, some of its most important collections were from the Linnean Society of London (founded in 1788) and the Zoological Society of London (founded in 1825) (Wheeler 1995, 1997). Both societies were in existence during the first half of the nineteenth century, a period of great geographical exploration and scientific endeavour, which enriched their collections with specimens from all over the world. The Linnean Society for example had a particular strength in Australian collections (including those from important patrons and men of science such as Robert Brown [1773-1858],[12] Sir Joseph Banks and Alexander Macleay

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[11] Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900) was an explorer and writer. She spent much time travelling in Africa, studying the people, as well as collecting valuable scientific specimens, many of which were donated to the British Museum. On her return to England she gave many lectures on her experiences, as well as publishing two books, *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and *West African Studies* (1899) that informed and influenced European views of Africans. She wanted to improve the situation in Africa, drawing attention to the injustices of the crown colony system of British rule (Birkett 2004).

[12] Robert Brown was a botanist appointed to Matthew Flinders on *HMS Investigator* (1801-1805) whose aims were to explore the Australian coastline. He was clerk, librarian and housekeeper to the Linnean Society and also donated material to the British Museum (Wheeler 1993, 1995: 237).

[1767-1848][13]). Exotic collections encompassed the majority of their collections, British and European collections comprising only a small proportion (Wheeler 1995: 236-237). The Zoological Society also took advantage of activities abroad, boasting a network of collectors and corresponding members throughout the world (the majority located in British colonies), who sent back material, a large proportion of which was new to science. Wheeler (1997: 116-117) lists for example the notable collectors who collected in India and Africa:

> India – T. Cantor – medical officer; T. Hardwicke – soldier; T.C. Jerdon – medical officer; J M'Clelland – medical officer.
> West Africa – W. Allen – naval officer; East Africa – E. Rüppell – zoologist explorer; South Africa – A. Smith – medical officer, zoologist.

When in 1863 the contents of the Linnean Society's museum were dispersed (as it was never the aim of the Society to have a museum), several of the important collections were donated to the BM and several more were bought by the BM at auction. The collections donated to the BM included the insect, conchology and shell collection of Sir Joseph Banks, leading British botanist Robert Brown's (1773-1858) bird collection and the botanist, George Caley's (1770-1829) Australian collection, more being purchased at its sale (Wheeler 1995: 237). In response to the financial demands of their collection and a change in attitude towards their Museum, the Zoological Society decided to offer a portion of their contents to the BM in 1856 (a large number of replicates were also presented to provincial museums). This was not presented to the BM but purchased by them for £500. This was a major contributor to the BM's collections, the material they purchased included 383 mounted birds, 100 bird skins and 164 mounted mammals (Wheeler 1997: 112-113). With the acquisition of the collection of the India Museum, this was the most important addition from an historical point of view (Thomas 1904: 63).

Again, as was the case with ethnographical items, as time progressed more money was available for the purchase of natural history specimens and the development of the collections. The rapid growth of these collections led to their removal from the British Museum to the British Museum (Natural History) in South Kensington, which formally opened in 1881, where the collections (including colonial material) continued to grow (Thackray & Press 2001: 69-89). Figure 3.1 reveals the pattern of the principal zoological colonial acquisitions received by the Natural History Department of the British Museum during the nineteenth century (see sections 2.4.3 & 2.4.4 for detailed methodology). The figures exhibited give an indication of the wealth of colonial material received; principal

[13] Alexander Macleay (1767-1848) was secretary of the Linnean Society of London 1798-1825, and Colonial Secretary of New South Wales 1825-36 (Boulger 2004a).

donations alone numbered over 400 in this 80-year period. Secondly, it illustrates that colonial acquisitions increased over time (similar to the trend described for ethnography), culminating in a peak in the 1890s with 137 colonial donations being made. Although the graph shows a slight decrease in the 1900s it should be noted that the sources I consulted only recorded acquisitions up until 1904; if the total period (1900-1910) had been available and recorded this fall may not have occurred. Caution should be taken however when viewing these figures, primarily because they are only concerned with major acquisitions and therefore it is possible that a large number of colonial acquisitions are not accounted for here.

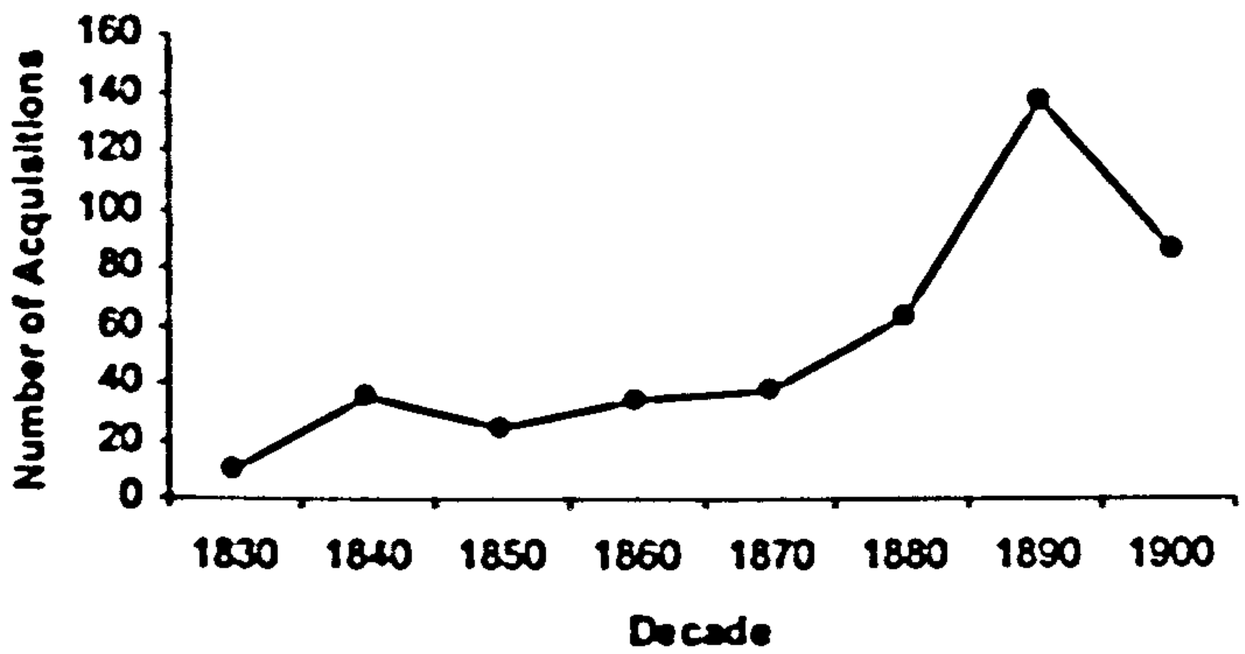

Figure 3.1 Colonial (Indian, African and Australian) zoological acquisitions made by the Department of Natural History at the British Museum, 1837-1904.

3.3.5 Conclusions

This section has conclusively verified that the BM from its foundation in the eighteenth century through to the twentieth century received both colonial natural history and ethnographic material. This began with the passive reception of acquisitions, before the Museum took a more active role in collecting colonial material; both the Keeper of Natural History and Keeper of Ethnography made requests for the donation and collection of colonial material. These requests proved successful, the Museum receiving an influx of colonial material, predominantly from people involved in the colonial regime, from missionaries to administrators. British colonialism therefore does seem to have had an effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions to the Museum. This is also supported by the changes in provenance of ethnographic material acquired by the Museum, reflecting British colonial interests of the time. Material acquired from the Pacific was high at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, whereas African material was in favour at the end of the nineteenth century. However, there were other factors that may have influenced the trends described. Firstly, the increase in colonial acquisitions may just be part of the overall pattern of

acquisitions made by the BM. As has been illustrated in this section, the Museum was developing as time progressed, gaining new departments, increased members of staff and funding. In the early years of the nineteenth century the Natural History Department for example was notorious for its poor condition, the majority of keepers were known for not carrying out their jobs satisfactorily, many of the specimens lacking identification and their associated documentation (Wheeler 1995: 236). It was not until John Gray became keeper (1840) that major improvements were made. Figure 3.2, which compares the number of principal colonial zoological acquisitions made by the Department of Natural History to all zoological acquisitions made, clearly shows that the rise in the number of colonial acquisitions exhibited is also shown by all acquisitions, but on a much larger scale. This may indicate therefore that the pattern exhibited by colonial acquisitions is just part of the overall collecting activities of the Museum. The methods by which these accessions were recorded should also be considered. Acquisition records may have improved over time, giving yet another possible explanation for the increase in colonial acquisitions over the century.

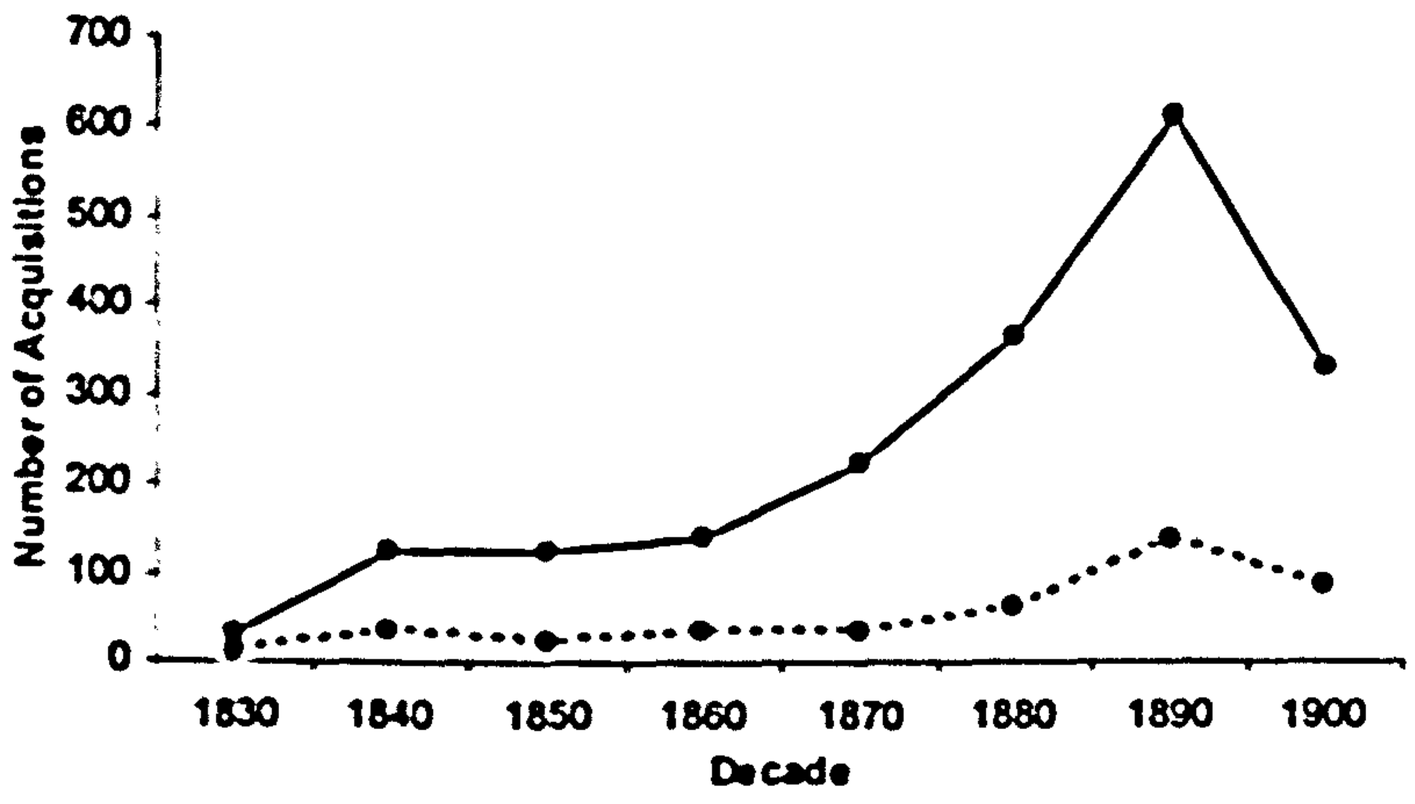

Figure 3.2 Colonial zoological acquisitions (dashed line) and all acquisitions (solid line) made by the Department of Natural History at the British Museum.

It is unlikely that internal changes within the museum and the development of the British Museum were the only factors affecting the flow of colonial material. I suggest that in the case of ethnography, the development of the subject of ethnography as a scientific discipline may have influenced the flow of ethnographic objects. At the beginning of the century these objects were simply looked upon as curiosities, but as the century progressed, there was a change in attitude, especially when it was realised that owing to colonialism other cultures were becoming extinct. A.W. Franks, for example, employed a new methodology of accepting material, encouraging people to donate everyday items of other cultures rather than

only those that looked beautiful (see section 3.3.3). By the end of the century this material was highly valued for its scientific worth, as it was used to illustrate social evolution (see section 1.7).

This chapter (and those to follow) will go on to look at the patterns of colonial acquisitions experienced by provincial museums. In particular, the data which will be revealed in this chapter will allow a comparison between the acquisition of colonial material by national and provincial museums to be made.

3.4 Capturing the colonies: the provincial museum

3.4.1 The flow of colonial acquisitions

Resembling the British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History), it is known that provincial museums in England received material of a colonial nature during the nineteenth century (see section 1.2). However, the amount of material received and when it was received has not been quantified. By looking at the acquisitions (from the British colonies of Africa, Australia and India) made to a representative sample of provincial museums in England (see section 2.4.2) throughout the century, we can gain insights into the flow of colonial material to English provincial museums. Figure 3.3 clearly shows that acquisitions of colonial material were made throughout the century. Following a short peak (in the 1830s) and a trough (in the 1840s and 1850s) at the beginning of the century, the acquisitions made by provincial museums for the remainder of the century were received at a fairly steady rate, the number tailing off at the beginning of the twentieth century (possibly because one of the sources consulted only recorded acquisitions up until 1900, therefore not giving a full decade of results; see section 2.4.3). As already suggested the acquisition of colonial material at the establishment of these museums may have been central in setting the trend for the acquisition of colonial material throughout the rest of the century, as Miller (1973: 75) suggested was the case at the BM (see section 3.3.1).

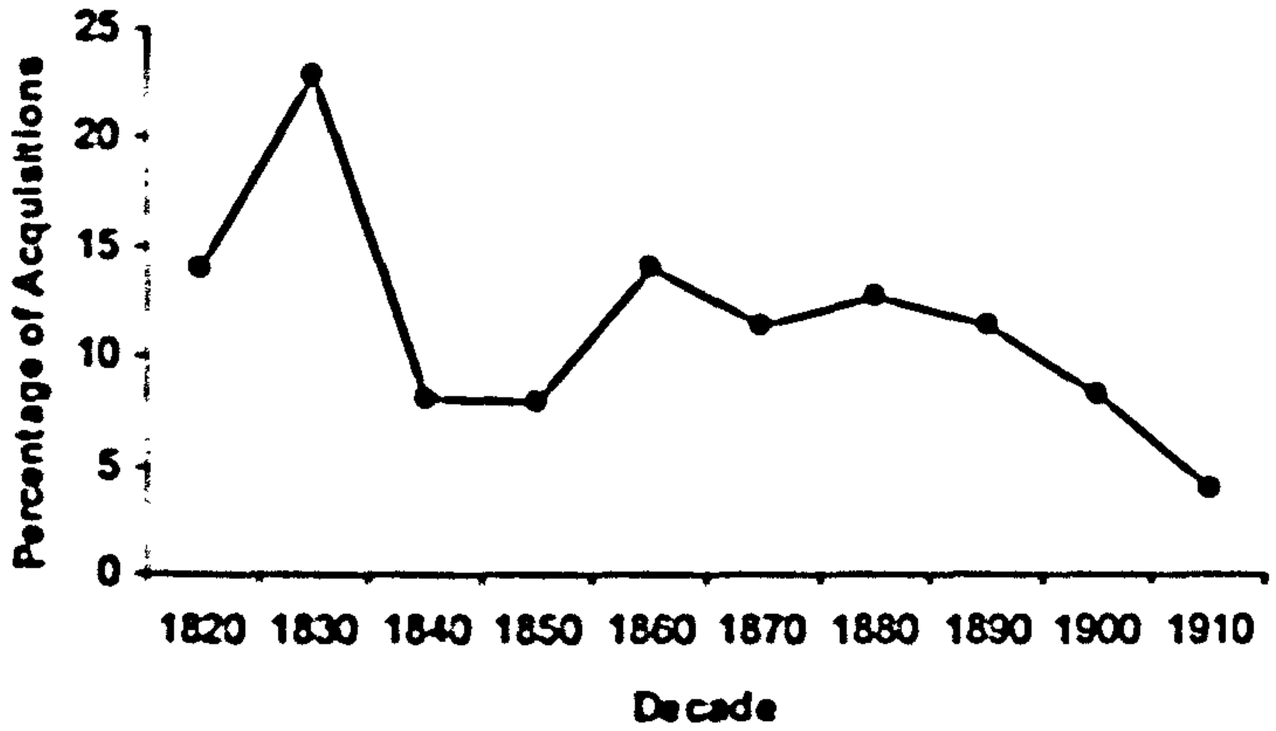

Figure 3.3 Trends in colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic), as a percentage of the total received by five provincial museums in England.

Immediately it is noticeable that there is a major difference between the flow of acquisitions to provincial and national museums. The continuous rise throughout the nineteenth century experienced by the BM was not experienced by provincial museums, who after an unsettled period at the beginning of the century maintained a relatively stable level of colonial acquisitions. This suggests that the actions of the British Museum in terms of the flow of colonial material they acquired, did not have a strong influence on the flow of material experienced by provincial museums. This does not however mean that they had no influence at all. For example, the peak in colonial material at the beginning of the century may have been in response to the British Museum. This was the time that the majority of provincial museum used in this study were established and it could have been that on their establishment, they looked towards the British Museum as a guide to what material they should accept and display within their museum.

Secondly, the role that Empire played in the flow of acquisitions to provincial museums could be questioned. In the case of national museums it has been suggested that the growth in colonial acquisitions was due to the expansion of Britain's Empire over this period. If this was the case, the trends exhibited by provincial museums suggest that although there was an increased amount of colonial material available as the century progressed, provincial museums chose not to accept or encourage the accession of this material. To further consider the role that Empire played in the flow of colonial acquisitions to provincial museums, it is necessary to look at the flow of colonial material from the individual British colonies of Africa, Australia and India.

3.4.2 The flow of acquisitions from Africa, Australia and India

It could be hypothesised that following the BM, the acquisition of colonial material from individual colonies would echo patterns of British colonial activity; the majority of colonial acquisitions received by provincial museum at the beginning of the century from the Pacific (Australia) and at the end of the century from Africa. However Figure 3.4 illustrates that this was not the case, the trends seen in the flow of Australian, African and Indian acquisitions roughly following the pattern exhibited by all acquisitions; a peak at the beginning of the century followed by a trough which then levels out for the rest of the century, before finally plummeting in the early 1900s.

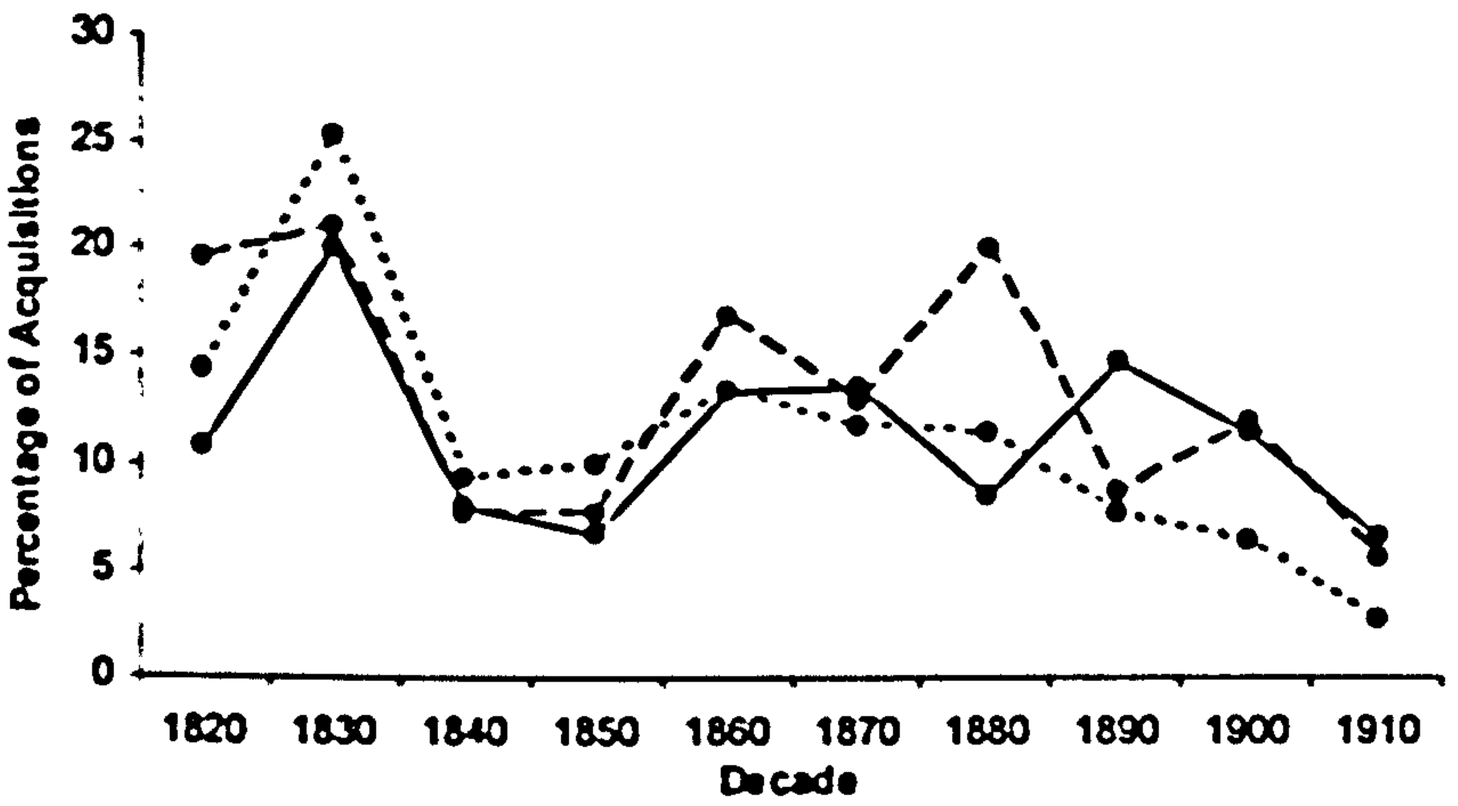

Figure 3.4 Trends in African (solid line), Australian (small dashes) and Indian (large dashes) acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic), as a percentage of the total received by five provincial museums in England.

There is however variation in each decade as to which colony supplied the museums with the greatest number of acquisitions. Interestingly, in 1830 the majority of acquisitions were from Australia, and in 1890, from Africa. This suggests that British colonial activity may have had an effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions. However the effect was minimal, for example, in 1830 the difference in the number of Australian accessions and the number of Indian accession made were small (the same can be said for African acquisitions in 1880). As illustrated earlier, although the colonisation of Australia and Africa occurred at different times, Africa, for instance experiencing an intense period of British contact at the end of the nineteenth century, England had contact with both throughout the nineteenth century (see section 3.2). Throughout the nineteenth century, for example, Africa was visited by explorers,

missionaries and traders (see section 3.2.1). This could possibly explain why material was received from Africa throughout the century.

The flow of material from India showed similar trends to that of Australian and African material. There is however an interesting peak which occurs in 1880, Indian material during this decade forming the majority of the colonial acquisitions made. This does coincide with a change in British relations with India, only a couple of years previously, the final Mogul Emperor died and Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1877 (see section 3.2.3). However, other events which occurred, such as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 which consequently resulted in the direct ruling of India by the British Crown, but also an increased amount of looting by the British army (see section 3.2.3) did not seem to be a significant factor on the flow of acquisitions as may have been expected.

3.4.3 Natural history and ethnographic acquisitions

In concurrence with the trends displayed by the flow of material from individual colonies, those exhibited by both zoological and ethnographical acquisitions follow that of the overall flow of colonial acquisitions (Figure 3.3), with a peak in the early century, quickly followed by a trough, before retaining a steady flow until the end of the century (Figure 3.5). One interesting point to note however is that up until 1870 natural history material is greater than ethnographic material, but after 1870 the situation changes and ethnographic acquisitions outnumber natural history acquisitions. As was the case at the British Museum, I suggest that the rise in the number of ethnographic accessions was owing to the rising profile of ethnography as a scientific discipline (see section 1.7 and section 3.3.5). Alternately, the fall in natural history acquisitions could have been caused by the decline in the collection of natural history as a popular pastime within Britain (see section 1.6.6).

Figure 3.5 Trends in colonial ethnographic (solid line) and natural history (dashed line) acquisitions, as a percentage of the total acquisitions received by five provincial museums in England.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has clearly illustrated, in both a qualitative and quantitative manner, that the flow of colonial material to the BM increased over time as the century progressed. Trends in British colonial interests can be translated onto the flow of colonial acquisitions, suggesting that British colonialism did have a direct influence on the movement of this material. However, it has to be acknowledged that this may not be a simple cause and effect relationship; other factors such as the development of ethnography as a scientific discipline and the individuality of keepers, as well as the development of curatorship as a profession, also had a significant effect on acquisition flow (see section 3.3.5).

As British colonial interest affected acquisition flow to the BM it could be hypothesised that provincial museum would have experienced similar trends, either directly owing to British colonialism or simply because of the influence and authority which the national museums held over provincial museums, provincial museums often imitating their actions (see section 3.1). Indeed, Kavanagh (1990:14) states that as a response to national museums of the time:

> natural science and archaeology collections [were accessioned by provincial museums] with imperial rather than regional boundaries.

However, when first looking at the flow of colonial acquisitions into five provincial museums, the clear trends exhibited by the BM do not seem to be followed, for example there is not a general rise in colonial acquisitions as the century progresses. When looking more carefully there are similarities in terms of when material was received from individual colonies, early decades (1830s) dominated by Australian acquisitions and later decades

(1890s) by African acquisitions suggesting that British colonialism had a direct effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions to English museum (see section 3.4.2; Figure 3.4). However, these trends were quite weak and may not be significant; overall, they simply follow the trend exhibited by the combined flow of Australian, Indian and African material (see section 3.4.1; Figure 3.3). Provincial museums did display an interesting trend regarding the flow of natural history and ethnographic material, one which could possibly be explained by the development of these subjects over the century (see section 3.4.3).

At this point, it is not clear if the overriding influences on colonial acquisition flow experienced by provincial museums can be attributed to wider events, such as developments of the British Empire or the authority of national museums. This leads us to believe that there may have been other factors which were also acting on the acquisition of this material. The special nature of these institutions has already been outlined (see section 1.1) and therefore the forces which acted upon them may only be visible when examining factors present at the level of the museum itself or even the town or city in which it was located. As the combined data from five museums have been used within this analysis, the individuality of each has been lost, for example their differing locations (port and mainland), management arrangements (local authority, natural history societies and literary and philosophical societies) and key personalities (curators and trustees). All of these may have had an effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions. It is therefore imperative that each museum is explored individually, allowing any causal factors affecting the trends exhibited in the flow of colonial acquisitions to be identified and accounted for.

The following section of this thesis therefore has the principal aim of investigating the incoming flow of colonial material to individual provincial museums in England and, most importantly, to account for the acquisition pattern displayed by this material. The subsequent five chapters will consider each case study individually: Saffron Walden Natural History Society (chapter 4), Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (chapter 5), Liverpool Museum (chapter 6), the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle (chapter 7), and finally, Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society (chapter 8). The same approach will be taken when examining each case study, all chapters having a similar structure; the flow of acquisitions into each museum will be described (including an examination of those who donated this material) and the trends displayed will be analysed and accounted for, particularly by looking at circumstances specific to each museum and the surrounding local area. Actions of those who managed the museums will be considered, as decisions made by the management may well have had profound effects on colonial acquisition flow, as may collection policies or museum missions, for example. These accounts will be structured in chronological order rather than arranged according to themes. This approach has been taken as the following case study chapters are designed to assess changes

in colonial acquisition flow over time, which is most easily displayed by taking a chronological approach. However when comparatively analysing the trends exhibited by all these museums, a more thematic approach will be taken (chapter 9). The first of these five chapters is concerned with Saffron Walden Natural History Society Museum and its colonial acquisition activities.

4 Saffron Walden Natural History Society

4.1 The establishment of the Saffron Walden Natural History Society

The concept of forming a natural history society and associated museum in Saffron Walden was conceived by a number of middle-class gentlemen who inhabited the town (for further information on nineteenth century natural history societies see section 1.5.1 and 1.6.4).[1] It was banker Mr. Jabez Gibson,[2] who initially proposed the idea, and at the Annual Dinner of the Horticultural Society of Saffron Walden in September 1832, the construction of a building for use as a museum (as well as for the use of other local societies) was publicly announced. The proposal must have been looked upon favourably, as following the announcement the Saffron Walden Natural History Society (Saffron Walden NHS) was founded. Lord Braybrooke (1783-1858), nobleman, scholar and antiquarian, was heavily involved in the foundation of the Society and Museum (Cooper 2000: 33-36). He owned a large area of land positioned in front of the ruined keep of Saffron Walden Castle and it was there, in 1833, that a large building was constructed. Space within this building was rented by the Natural History Society for use as a museum which was officially opened in 1835 (Pole 1985: 93-94).

The decade in which the Society was established (the 1830s), was a time of great political tension throughout Britain, with revolution occurring abroad (e.g. the overthrowing of the French monarch Charles X in 1830) and the Reform Act (1832) at home. It marked a period of class reform (i.e. the uprising of the lower classes). Organised riots by the lower class were occurring throughout Britain, well-known examples of which include those in Bristol and Derby. These were chiefly in response to the first two failed attempts of the acceptance of the Reform Act (Black & MacRaild 2003: 134-139). Although not affecting Saffron Walden directly, there was always anxiety (by the higher classes) that this would be the case. Saffron Walden was deeply divided into two groups, the rich and the poor, and provided an ideal setting for riots to take place (Cooper 2000: 28-30). However, it was not the Reform Act but the so-called 'Captain Swing'[3] riots of 1830 which caused most concern in

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[1] A number of these gentlemen were Quakers. Quakers were well-known as an influential force in the campaign to improve social conditions in Britain and abroad (Bainton 1964: 175-6).
[2] Jabez Gibson (1794-1838), a Quaker, was a major figure in the community of Saffron Walden, as were the other members of his family. He made a major gift to the town by drilling an artesian well. He served on the town council, elected at the first elections for the new Borough Council after the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835, and was made Alderman in 1835. Unfortunately Jabez' life was ended early, dying at the age of 44 (Cooper 2002: 43-44 & White 1991: 121-123).
[3] It is not certain why they were named 'Captain Swing' riots, however it is possible that swing originated from the swingel, the flail used to thresh the grain. Alternatively it could have originated

Saffron Walden, primarily because they took place much closer to home in the surrounding countryside of the town. These riots are better described as protests, comprising of large groups of workers demanding higher pay, although sometimes they did exhibit violence through the smashing of threshing machines, which were by large the cause of their unemployment. They were no doubt brought on by the high political tensions which were being felt throughout England during this time (Cooper 2000: 125-140). Although these riots were not concentrated in Saffron Walden itself, they still proved to be very influential on the town. The worthies and gentlemen of Saffron Walden were eager to prevent any form of violence in their own town and to counteract the poverty and crime which it was experiencing. The Poor Law and the criminal law of the time helped this cause, but this was not seen as enough, the gentlemen of the town deciding to implement their own method of social control by carrying out an increased number of philanthropic acts. These acts included the introduction of an allotment scheme in which labourers were given a plot of land to grow their own crops, and the establishment of a number of charities such as the Benevolent Society (1828) and the New Provident Society (1838) which would assist the poor. A number of these positive additions were used by worthies to improve their relations with the lower class (Cooper 2000: 175-195), although they did not necessarily directly help them.

As the foundation of the Saffron Walden NHS and its Museum took place at the same time as these other philanthropic acts, it was obviously caught up in this spirit of social improvement. One of the main aims of the Museum was to inform and educate the public, but not just the privileged classes (Cooper 2000: 40). Although this idea was a positive one, its practicality could be questioned. Learning about natural history would not be the top priority of the poor, who were on the whole illiterate and more concerned about where their next meal would come from. In reality, the poor did not even get a chance to visit the Museum as it was restricted to only the members of the Saffron Walden NHS (*ibid.*; Pole 1985: 94). The real reasons for establishing a museum could therefore be questioned. One major theme which Cooper (2000: 175-195) talks about in relation to these philanthropic acts is their use to raise the social standing of the worthies who implemented them. The motives, for example of Lord Braybrooke, who was one of the main players in the founding of the Museum (as well as other societies of the town such as the Horticultural Society), donating land and erecting the museum building, could be questioned (*ibid.*: 33-36). His actions may not have been solely for the benefit and improvement of others, but a method by which he could raise his own social standing. Although not directly benefiting the poor, these acts could still have been beneficial functioning as symbols of the gentlemen's concern and help which they were

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from the lord of the harvest in the field setting off the reapers with the command 'swing' (as in swing your scythes) (Cooper 2000: 125-140).

giving to the town. In response it was hoped the poor would be grateful and therefore not rebel against them, keeping Saffron Walden a 'well-ordered' town (*ibid.*: 140).

The first meeting of the Saffron Walden NHS was held on 22nd November 1832 at Jabez Gibson's home. At this meeting the possibility of forming a museum was discussed and it was decided that:

> a Museum be formed, to include specimens in the several departments of Natural History, with Antiquarian remains, and such other articles as might be of general or local interest.[4]

In terms of revealing the future direction of the Museum and its collecting policy, this statement is very general. With the emphasis on natural history, it allows almost anything which the Society may find interesting to be accepted. It is made clear that items which do not fit into the category of natural history or antiquarian remains would be welcomed if 'of general or local interest'. This suggests that the Society would accession material of both a local nature as well as material from further afield. Local material was clearly important to the Society and would 'form a leading feature in its arrangement'.[5] As time progressed there was a more definite view as to what the Museum would contain, for example, a circular written in 1834, the principal aim of which was to obtain trustees, subscribers and donations, stated that they had:

> commenced a Museum which already included specimens, many of them rare and valuable, in the departments of Geology, Mineralogy, Entomology and Zoology in general, as well as Antiquities and other Productions, illustrative of the Arts, Manufactures, and habits of different Nations.[6]

Unlike the previous statement, this clearly illustrates the magnitude of the vision of the Committee of the Saffron Walden NHS. They did not only want to collect and display material from their local, or even national environment, but they desired that their Museum would give an international perspective, the Trustees clearly stating their intention to illustrate the 'Arts, Manufactures and habits of different Nations'. However, this global perspective is only made clear in terms of material culture, their stance on natural history material is still not made obvious. The words 'rare and valuable', used to refer to some of their specimens do however conjure an image of exotic specimens rather than those seen

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[4] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 22nd November 1832.
[5] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th March 1834.
[6] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th March 1834.

everyday in the local area of Saffron Walden. It is possible that it was the religious interests of the Society's founders that led to the collection and display of material belonging to the peoples of other nations. As already mentioned, a number of the founders were Quakers, a religious group well-known as philanthropists, supporting good causes, one of which was the protection of indigenous people (Bravo 1996: 339-340). It was a group of Quaker philanthropists who formed the Aborigines Protection Society in 1837 (see section 1.7.1). The founder members of the Society may have therefore been keen to use the museum as a vehicle which would enhance the awareness of peoples of other nations.

The Society was confident in its ability to achieve this goal, showing no concern as to how they would acquire material which would give their Museum the international perspective they desired. Saffron Walden was a small, relatively isolated market town (with poor rail, road and water links), with no direct connections with the wider world (i.e. it is landlocked; see Figure 2.1) (e.g. White 1991). Presumably therefore, acquiring this material may have proved difficult. However, it is evident that despite its isolation, the Saffron Walden NHS received colonial material throughout the nineteenth century.

4.2 The flow of colonial acquisitions

The flow of colonial material into the Saffron Walden NHS was not constant but varied throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figure 4.1). In the 1830s, the decade in which the Museum officially opened, there was an initial peak in colonial acquisitions (37 in total). This was short lived, the following 40 years receiving only a small number of colonial acquisitions, the 1850s and 1860s receiving none at all. This period of inactivity was followed by a minor peak in the 1880s, which was much smaller than the earlier peak described. The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century saw a continuation in the accession of colonial material but at a comparatively low level. The same pattern was exhibited when donations were divided into natural history and ethnographic material.

Despite this variability in the passage of colonial donations to the Museum, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Saffron Walden Museum was rich in colonial material, both natural history and ethnographic. The Saffron Walden NHS at this time had a total of 44 natural history acquisitions and 36 ethnographic acquisitions (with very little discrepancy between the number of natural history and ethnographic acquisitions received), some of which were large and important collections. The amount of material arriving from the colonies of Africa and India was quite evenly spread, Australian material contributing a smaller proportion (Figure 4.2). Even so, the flow of material from the individual colonies of

Africa, India and Australia all displayed similar trends (Figure 4.3), following that of the combined flow of all colonial acquisitions (Figure 4.1).

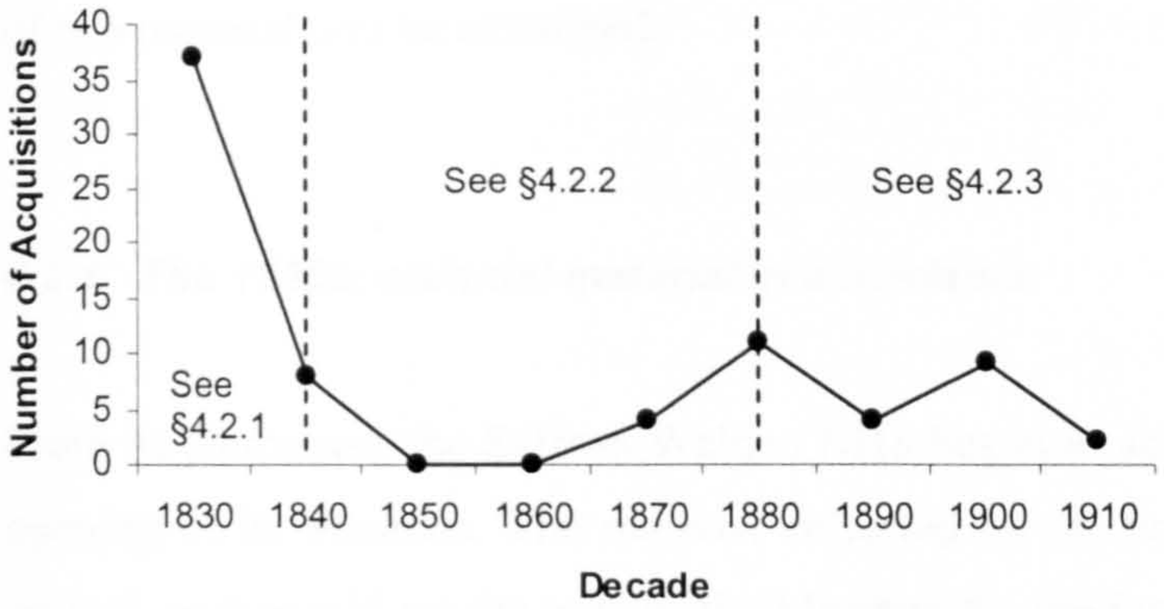

Figure 4.1 Natural history and ethnographic colonial acquisitions (from Australia, India and Africa) entering Saffron Walden Natural History Society from 1833 to 1914, indicating which sections deal with each time phase.

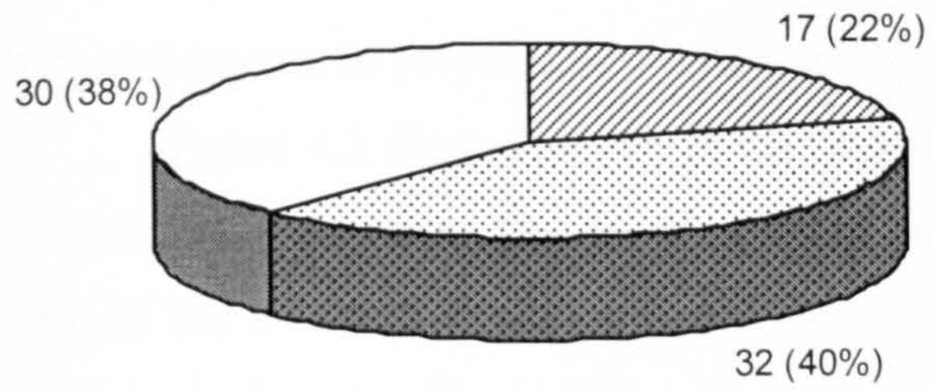

Figure 4.2 Quantity (and percentage) of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) received from the individual colonies of Africa (plain), Australia (striped) and India (dotted) by Saffron Walden Natural History Society between 1833 and 1914.

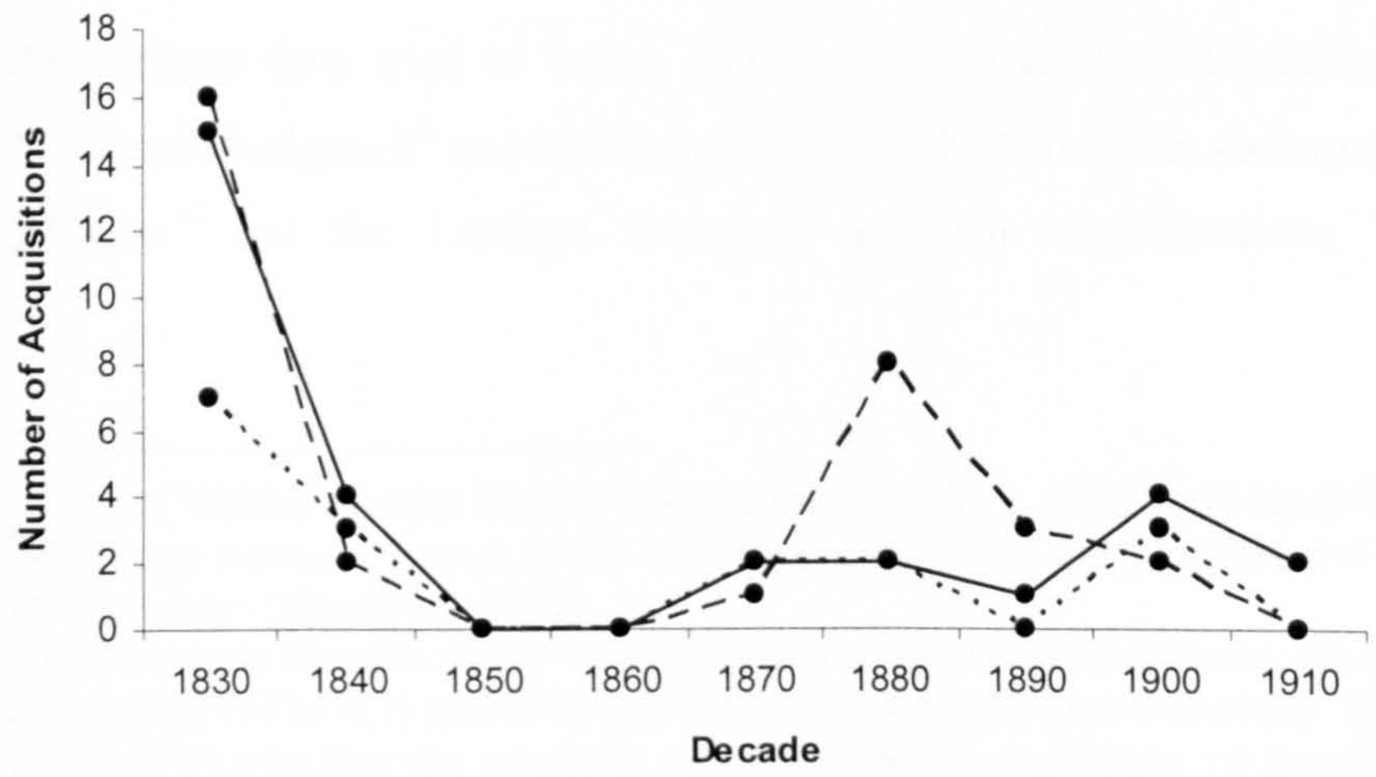

Figure 4.3 Flow of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) from the individual colonies of Africa (solid dashes), Australia (small dashes) and India (large dashes) experienced by Saffron Walden Natural History Society from 1833 and 1914.

This chapter will continue to explore these colonial collections in some depth: what they consisted of, who donated them and under what circumstances they were donated. In particular, the changing flow of colonial material to the Society will be considered, events/factors operating at the level of the Museum and their possible influence on the arrival of this material will be examined.

4.2.1 The 1830s: colonial material in abundance

From its formation, the Saffron Walden NHS began to actively collect in preparation for the opening of its Museum. The material collected by the Society during this early period was critical, as it would set the tone of the Museum for the forthcoming years ahead. The Society had no particular foundation (i.e. inherited collection) on which they could build, and decided to collect a wide variety of material, from varied geographical locations. By not being too specific, the Society were maximising their chances of receiving donations. This was particularly important at this time as they were relying on donations to fill the space dedicated to their Museum in preparation for its opening.

Figure 4.1 illustrates that in the first decade of its establishment the Society received 37 colonial acquisitions (by far the greatest number in any decade). This was done with the help of the Committee who actively encouraged its donation, possibly in order to achieve their goal of giving the Museum an international perspective. It may be expected that the Committee would approach and request material from members of the Society and others in the town, which indeed they did.[7] It would also be expected that Committee members would use more distant sources, for example contacting close friends or family who lived further afield. However, for the Committee of the Saffron Walden NHS, there seemed to be no end to the contacts they tried to foster. These included eminent academics and scientists such as Professors Sedgwick[8] and Henslow,[9] distinguished societies such as the Zoological Society of London [10] and the Linnean Society, [11] colonial administrators, for example Alexander

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[7] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th March 1834.
[8] Professor Adam Sedgwick (1785-1873) was a geologist and a Professor of Geology at the University of Cambridge (Speakman 1982).
[9] John Stevens Henslow (1796-1861) was a renowned English botanist. He was professor of mineralogy (1822–27) and of botany (1827–61) at Cambridge University. Henslow was a teacher and friend of Charles Darwin, whom he recommended as naturalist to the *Beagle* expedition. He wrote on scientific farming and also *A Catalogue of British Plants* (1829) and *Dictionary of Botanical Terms* (1857) (Russell-Gebbett 1977).
Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 10th January 1833.
[10] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 23rd January 1833.
[11] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 30th January 1833.

Macleay,[12] high positioned clergy, including the Bishops of London[13] and navy physicians, such as Sir William Burnett.[14] On inspecting this list, the appearance of international specimens within the Museum is perhaps not that surprising, especially as some of these people lived and travelled in the British colonies.

These people were contacted, 'in order to solicit their aid by contributing specimens, duplicate or otherwise'.[15] The letters which were used to communicate to these individuals give us a clearer picture as to exactly what the Committee were hoping to gain from their requests. Unfortunately few examples of these letters have survived, but copies of some letters were made in the Committee Minute Book, including a letter to Sir William Burnett, Physician General of HM Navy:[16]

> Sir,
>
> Desirous of acquiring and extending a knowledge of Natural History around us, we beg to state to you as one of the Friends of this Science, that we have commenced a Museum combining Specimens in the several Departments, in order that the Collection maybe, as far as possible, interesting to persons of every class. We in the first instances contributed such specimens as we happened to possess; and in their more orderly arrangement we constituted a committee to dispose of, name and place in order the specimens as they progressively accumulated. In this new building to which we are moving, we propose appending to each specimen, its systematic and common name, a short history of it, if anything worth of notice alludes to it, and the name of the Donor, with its locality.
>
> Our Colleague, Mr. Player, having intimated to us your attachment to the study, and your disposition to patronize our pursuits we have taken the liberty to trouble you with this notice of our plan, in the hope that we may be favoured with any duplicate specimens in your own collection: and should you be pleased to give us assistance, we shall retain a grateful sense in your consideration.
>
> Jabez Gibson

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[12] Alexander Macleay (1767-1848) was secretary of the Linnean Society of London 1798-1825, and Colonial Secretary of New South Wales 1825-36 (Boulger 2004a).
Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th February 1833.
[13] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 30th January 1833.
[14] Sir William Burnett (1779–1861) studied medicine at Edinburgh University leading to a career as a naval surgeon and Inspector of Naval Hospitals. In 1822, Lord Melville appointed him to the Victualling Board, as colleague to Dr. Weir, the chief medical officer of the navy, after which he obtained the position of Physician General of the Navy (Bettany 2004a).
[15] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 10th January 1833.
[16] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 2, 17th April 1834 to 20th May 1835. 25th March 1835.

This letter reveals that the Committee were not at all specific in the type of donations which they wished to receive. In fact they were quite the opposite, happy to request any duplicate specimens that the collector no longer required. Their collecting policy at this time was thus extremely open-ended, supporting the original statement released concerning the future content of their Museum (see section 4.1). The prime point to note however is that the Society would already have an idea of the sort of material they would receive depending on who they wrote to. By carefully targeting potential donors, the Society was selecting its collections, and by pursuing names such as Alexander Macleay and Sir William Burnett, it is clear that colonial material was a desirable element. The letter addressed to Burnett gives us an impression of why this material was sought-after; to be used to educate and entertain all classes. This last statement is interesting as by emphasising 'persons of every class', it again highlights the possible use of the museum as an agent of social control within an environment of reform (see section 4.1).

When focusing on the people the Committee contacted, a common factor which they all shared was their location, outside the town of Saffron Walden. This in itself confirms that the perspective of the Society was by no means only centred on the town. If the requests of the Society were successful, these contacts would donate collections which would undoubtedly not be of a local (Saffron Walden) origin but from other localities. By looking more closely at some of the people contacted, we can gain further clues to the extent of the Society's desire to give an international focus to its Museum. A number of these people were extremely well-known in their fields, such as Henslow,[17] and many had connections throughout the globe and received specimens from them. The Committee were therefore indirectly putting the Society in a situation which may allow the acquisition of foreign material. A prime example which could be used to illustrate this is the carefully nurtured relationship which the Saffron Walden NHS had with the Zoological Society of London. Firstly, it is important to note the type of Society which the Saffron Walden NHS made contact with. The Zoological Society and also the Linnean Society with whom they corresponded were national societies, both well-known for the size and quality of the international collections they had in their care (e.g. Wheeler 1995, 1997). Interestingly the Saffron Walden NHS spent little time and effort securing relationships with local societies similar in size and scale to themselves, possibly because they would not supply them with the foreign specimens they required.

The first known contact that the Saffron Walden NHS had with the Zoological Society of London was spoken of at a Committee meeting not long after the Society's formation, when it was resolved that, 'a letter be addressed to the Council of the Zoological

[17] See footnote 9.

Society (Regent's Park) to solicit their aid in the formation of a museum'.[18] The effort made to establish a connection with them was fruitful, the Zoological Society presenting them with 50 birds in March 1833.[19] Unfortunately more details on the birds, such as who collected them and where they were collected, are unknown. Following this donation, the Society directly corresponded with the Zoological Society thanking them, and in return they offered to approach one of their contacts, Mr Robert Dunn to procure any specimens they wished from Algoa Bay, South Africa (see below for more information on Robert Dunn).[20] The Saffron Walden NHS must have been in favour with the Zoological Society as they continued to receive specimens from them, one of which was a giraffe from Africa. They had heard that the Zoological Society had a giraffe skin that was no longer required, so Rev. John Barlow, the Secretary of the Saffron Walden NHS at that time, wrote to them asking on what terms it would be possible to procure the specimen.[21] His application to the Society was successful, the Museum obtaining the giraffe, and it was resolved that:

> the best thanks of this Society be presented for so valuable addition to the collection in this Museum.[22]

Shortly after the giraffe arrived, Mr. Joseph Clark was requested to start the process of having it 'set up' as soon as possible.[23] Subsequent to this communication, the Saffron Walden NHS were still keen to continue nurturing their relationship with the Zoological Society, presenting them with a number of duplicate antelopes, to acknowledge the:

> sense of the liberty shown to this institution by the Zoological Society of London.[24]

This relationship was mutually beneficial, the Zoological Society and the Saffron Walden NHS both gaining a number of foreign specimens, some of which were of colonial origin. Provincial natural history societies, such as the Saffron Walden NHS, may not have only used national societies as a source for acquiring material, but as role models upon which they would base their own society (possibly in a similar way that national museums such as the

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[18] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 23rd January 1833.
[19] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 11th March 1833.
[20] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 11th March 1833.
[21] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 5, 23rd Aug 1837 to 29th Aug 1838. 22nd August 1838.
[22] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 6, 5th September 1838 to 31st March 1841. 24th October 1838.
[23] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 6, 5th September 1838 to 31st March 1841. 21st November 1838
[24] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 6, 5th September 1838 to 31st March 1841. 5th December 1838.

British Museum were emulated; see section 3.1). This may have encouraged them to acquire and exhibit material of an international nature.

In addition to acquiring colonial material through indirect connections (that is specimens not collected by the person or organisation from which they were donated, as in the case of the Zoological Society of London) the Saffron Walden NHS also made direct connections with people travelling or living in British colonies. Alexander Macleay, a recognised naturalist (predominantly an entomologist), secretary of the colony of New South Wales, previously secretary of the Linnean Society (Boulger 2004a) was one of these direct contacts. He was asked in a letter dated 1833 if he would supply the Society with any of his duplicate specimens.[25] However, this request does not seem to have been answered, as there are no entries in the accession book or Committee minute books regarding a donation from him. Another direct contact made by the Society was with Robert Dunn.[26] Unlike Macleay, Dunn provided the Society with one of their largest and arguably their most prized natural history collections, when in 1834 they received a huge consignment from Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth, South Africa, shipped over on the *Claudine* and the *Salus*.[27] This was actually one of the earliest accessions received by the Society, and consisted of a number of large packing cases filled with natural history specimens from Algoa Bay and the surrounding area (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 *The contents of two of the packing cases sent by Robert Dunn from Algoa Bay, South Africa to Saffron Walden Natural History Society.*[28] *These arrived as unmounted skins.*

Case 1	Case 2
1 large rhinoceros	1 small muishond (African weasel)
1 very large kudu skin	2 musk cats
1 very large bock	1 male and female jackal
2 lynx	2 spring hares
1 blackbuck	2 common hares
1 large minx head	1 large cat
1 small jackal	1 male and female red roe buck
1 rock rabbit	1 black buck
2 badgers	1 buck
1 skin of male and female hartebeest	1 very large tiger skin[29]
1 wild boar skin	1 very large anteater

[25] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th February 1833.
[26] Robert Newton Dunn (1795-1847) was a Scottish emigrant from Inverness, who with a number of other British people left the British Isles and settled in South Africa He spent his early years living in Port Elizabeth, before moving to Port Natal (Durban), where he was one of the earliest white settlers. Dunn made his living as a trader, trading in ivory and hides. He owned a large amount of property in the area, many of which were bought from those killed in the Battle of Tugela (1838). Sadly, Dunn's life was ended when he was crushed to death by an elephant whilst out hunting (Dunn 2005; Wood 2001).
[27] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Accession Register No 1.1832 to 1880/81.
[28] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Accession Register No 1.1832 to 1880/81.
[29] The tiger must have been obtained earlier as tigers do not inhabit Africa. Although it is unlikely, it could have been incorrectly identified.

Case 1	Case 2
1 male, female and young bush buck	1 female spring buck
2 stein bucks	1 guana
2 blue bucks	2 moles
	Over 50 birds including 12 hawks
	1 very large hyena skin and bones

The collection was made by Robert Dunn and a party of naturalists whilst on a hunting expedition into the interior of South Africa. It contained some extremely valuable zoological collections from South Africa, including an African elephant (*Elephas africanus*), a double-horned rhinoceros and a specimen of the kudu (*Antelope strepsiceros*). The elephant actually became quite famous, albeit in unexpected circumstances. In 1851 the Trustees of Saffron Walden NHS agreed to lend it to the Great Exhibition where it was dressed in a howdah and exhibited in the Indian display (Figure 4.4). This was only a tiny proportion of the material acquired, the variety sent was enormous, from mammals and birds to reptiles, insects and plants, giving an interesting overview of the natural history of the area.

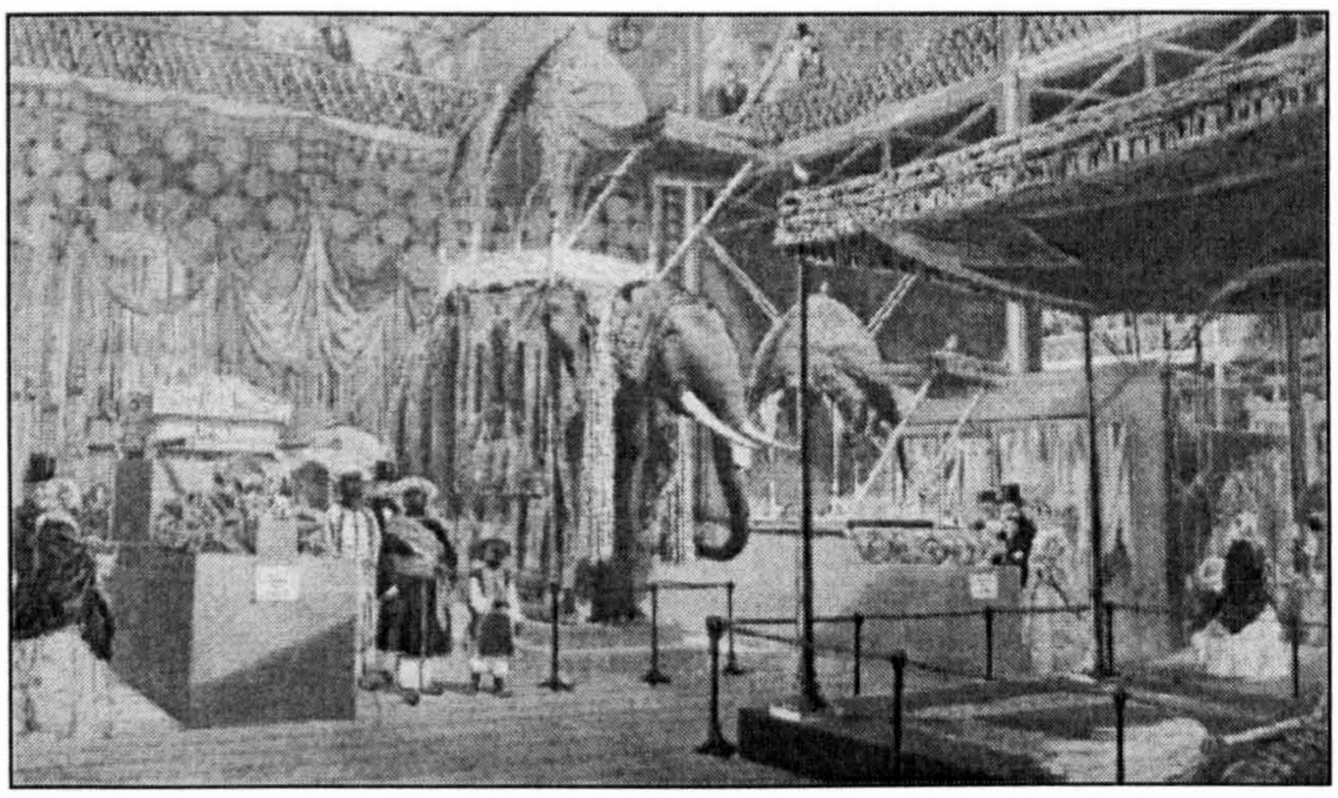

Figure 4.4 African Elephant donated by Robert Dunn to Saffron Walden NHS on display in the Great Exhibition, in the Indian area, 1851 (SAFWM: 1833.354; reproduced with the kind permission of Saffron Walden Museum).

This acquisition was initiated by the Society through a letter written by Hannibal Dunn, one of its founder members, to his brother Robert Dunn in 1833.[30] Robert Dunn was born in Ware, Hertfordshire in 1795, but spent a number of his early years in Saffron Walden. It was in 1820 that he moved to Algoa Bay and settled there, marrying and having five children, one of whom was John Dunn, the infamous 'White Zulu Chief' (White 1991: 101-

[30] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 30th January 1833.

103).[31] Although the original letter from the Society, requesting collections from Robert Dunn is no longer available, presumably it was as open and unspecific as the letter written to Sir William Burnett. This may explain the Society's reaction when they received a bill from Robert Dunn for his efforts, amounting to £492.6.2½d. By today's standards this would be equivalent to almost £33,000 (McCusker 2001). The Society did not make a decision on whether the bill would be paid straight away, the Committee meeting during which the bill was read was adjourned to give them time to consider their reply.[32] If they had specifically asked for this large amount of material, and were clear that they had to pay for it, presumably they would have settled the bill immediately. At this time, the Society was not prepared to pay this huge sum of money, as their financial position would not allow it. The large price which had been demanded would not even include the mounting and purchase of cases to display the specimens. Even though this was the case they were keen to accept the collection. In a desperate attempt to reduce the bill, the Society wrote to His Majesty's Treasury proposing that the duty on the specimens should not be charged, as they were sent purely as scientific objects for the Museum.[33]

A solution was eventually found which allowed the Society to keep the majority of the specimens. The Society paid some of the bill, Jabez Gibson, one of the Committee members agreed to purchase some specimens (philanthropy again proving important) and a number of other specimens were offered to museums elsewhere, such as Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society:

> Having understood you to have expressed a wish, on the part of your museum, to purchase, or exchange, duplicate specimens of Natural history of, or with our own Museum Committee, we beg leave to inform you that we have a collection of Skeletons here after named, from Algoa Bay, offered to us for sale, at the price of £200, but are under the necessity of declining the offer on account of the want of room, and from the state of our funds.
>
> At some future opportunity, we shall be happy to send you a list of our duplicate Birds, and should feel gratified in affording any and in our power by exchange, or

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[31] John Robert Dunn (1833-1895) was appointed by King Cetshwayo (King of the Zulus) as an adviser for dealing with the Natal government (Natal became a British colony in 1843). Following this appointment he settled in Zululand permanently and became one of the most powerful Zulu chiefs. He acquired large amounts of land, cattle and wives. As relations between the Zulus and the British became unsettled, a civil war broke out (Anglo Zulu War of 1879). Dunn left Zululand and became a Military Intelligence Officer for the British. After the close of the war, he was appointed as a chief of one of the most large and wealthy Kingdoms, however this appointment was withdrawn in 1883 (Guy 2004).

[32] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 3rd January 1834.

[33] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Accession Register No. 1 (1832-1880).

otherwise as soon as we obtain some information of the extent and direction of your wants.

Skeletons

Large elephant	Ant eater
Sea Cows	4 large cats
Rhinoceros	1 large owl
Buffalo	

Signed on behalf of the committee
Jabez Gibson
Chairman[34]

The Society did not find the acquisition easy to forget as for several years to follow, the Society was in serious debt, going into liquidation in 1836. It was only through the financial aid of a number of trustees, all original founders of the Museum, that the Society finally met its debts:

> The Chairman stated to the Meeting that money was ready to be advanced from the Bank on interest, in addition to £200 advanced in 1836, in order to meet the loan without interest advanced by three of the trustees in 1834 to secure the most valuable of the specimens in comparative anatomy sent home from Africa to this museum, of which loan the Society was liquidated in 1836.
>
> It was proposed, seconded and carried that £150 be obtained off Mr Gibson in order to repay what was obtained in 1834 to secure to this Museum the skins received from Africa. This to be added to the previous debt of £200.[35]

This immediately highlights how valuable this collection was to the Society. To spend such a large amount of money and actually go into debt in order to obtain the collection shows that they thought it was a necessary addition to the Museum. The accession of the Dunn collection unambiguously confirms that the Society, in addition to ethnographic material, was interested in natural history material of an international nature.

It would appear that not all the colonial donations received by the Museum during this early period of their history were acquired through the direct contact which the Society

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[34] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 3rd April 1834. This offer was not accepted by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
[35] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 2, 17th April 1834 to 20th May 1835. Annual Meeting 3rd January 1839.

made with donors, some people seemingly donating on a voluntary basis. However, caution should be taken as this is an assumption based on negative evidence, that is, on no record of contact being discovered. Therefore it has to be acknowledged that records may have been lost and therefore the Society could have made contact with these people. It can be assumed however, that as the Committee minutes were very thorough during this period and letters written often recorded, that the donors subsequently revealed in this section were not contacted in this way.

Mr. John Helder Wedge (1793-1872) (Figure 4.5) falls into the category of a voluntary donor. He was the collector and donor of a large ethnographic collection, as well as some items of natural history, from south-eastern Australia and Tasmania. The collection contains some of the earliest documented Australian Aboriginal material from Port Phillip, Melbourne and therefore is of international importance (Pole 1987: 4) (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.5 John Helder Wedge (1793-1872) (State Library of Tasmania 2005)

Wedge spent time surveying and exploring within the colony of Australia. He was born in England in 1792, but left the country for Tasmania in 1824 where he worked as assistant surveyor until 1835. After resigning from his position as assistant surveyor, he sailed to Port Phillip where he went on to survey and explore that area and beyond. During this time he encountered a number of aborigines, and presumably it was these situations which gave him the opportunity to collect ethnographic material. Wedge was actually one of the earliest settlers in the Werribee area near Melbourne in 1836 where most of the aboriginal objects were collected. During his early years in Port Phillip he was involved in a land ownership

dispute, but once this was resolved, he returned to England before sailing back to Tasmania in 1843 and becoming manager of the Christ Church College estate (Serle 2005).

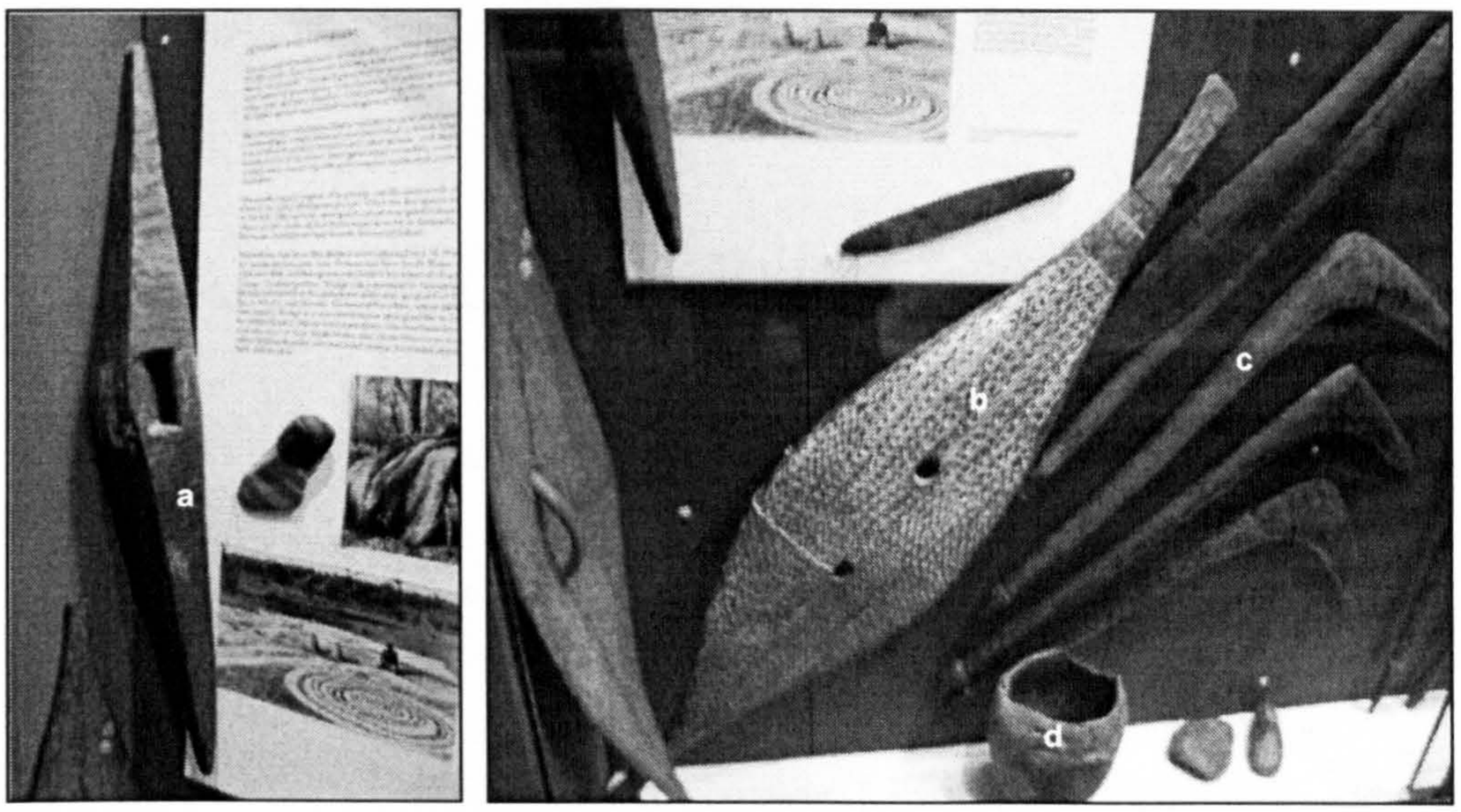

Figure 4.6 Some donations made by John Helder Wedge now on display at Saffron Walden Museum: a) Wood Parrying shield from Victoria, b) Shield from Victoria, c) Hooked Clubs of wood from Victoria and d) Bowl made from bole of tree from South East Australia (reproduced with the kind permission of Saffron Walden Museum).

It seems that the reason that this material was deposited at the Saffron Walden NHS Museum was owing to the family connections which he had with the area. Wedge's father lived in Shudy Camps, located only seven miles away from Saffron Walden. Saffron Walden Museum would have geographically been the closest museum to his father's home. The acquisition register records three entries consisting of material collected by Wedge. The first two were donated by Wedge's father, Charles Wedge, in 1835 (Table 4.2), followed by another entry in 1837.

Table 4.2 *Donations made by Mr. Charles Wedge on 23rd March 1835, as recorded in the Acquisition Register*

Object	Locality
Clubs	New South Wales and New Zealand
Shields	New South Wales
Spear	New South Wales
Bows	New Guinea
Skin and leg of emu	New South Wales

An extract from the Committee minutes below illustrates how grateful the Society was for the donation Wedge made:

> Mr Charles Wedge of Shudy Camps sent the skin and leg of a emu with some weapons of natives of NSW viz Waddie, Guard, Weapon & Shields & accompanied by a note of which the following is a copy to be preserved from the consideration that it was written by a friend of this Society at the age of 90.
>
> Sir, I have sent for your society, if they are worth acceptance, a skin and leg of an emu and some weapons used by the Aborigines of Van Diemens land. They throw the spears with great force from 50 to 70 or 80 yards. There is a shield to guard against the spear when they fight at a distance, and a waddie Guard when they are at close quarters which generally led fatally to some of them. It may be wonder[ed] what naked people who have no fixed tendence can have to enter into such conflicts.
>
> Charles Wedge.[36]

The final entry was a donation made by John Helder Wedge himself in 1838 (Table 4.3). This corresponds with the time he was back in England, looking after his ill father. He is thought to have donated 36 items, although only 24 can definitely be credited to him, the majority of the collection consisting of shields, clubs and spears (Pole 1987: 4 & 15-18). These collections were seen as a valuable addition to the Museum's collection, and as a mark of this, they made Wedge an honorary member of the Society.[37]

Table 4.3 *Donations made by Mr. John Helder Wedge on June 13th 1838, as recorded in the Acquisition Register*

Object	Locality
Boomerangs	New South Wales
Shields	Victoria/East Australia
Clubs	Victoria/South Eastern Australia
Spearhead	Victoria
Spears	Victoria/Queensland/South East Australia
Bucket	Australia
Basket	Australia
Head of tattooed New Zealand warrior	New Zealand
Natural history (flying opossum,	Australia

[36] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 2, 17th April 1834 to 20th May 1835. 25th March 1835.
[37] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 6, 5th September 1838 to 31st March 1841. Annual Meeting 23rd March 1840.
[38] A Dasyure is any marsupial of the family Dasyuridae (including the Tasmanian Devil), also known as a 'native cat', found in Australia and New Guinea.

bush kangaroo,
the dasyure and birds)[38]

Another voluntary donor who made a significant impact on the Museum's early history was George Bennet.[39] Although the majority of his donation was made up of material from the South Sea Islands (which falls out of the remit of this thesis), within this collection he is also recorded as donating a tortoise shell from Africa and a spear head from India. It was reported by the Secretary in the Committee minutes that:

> George Bennet Esq. of Sheffield had voluntarily named to him his intention of forwarding a few contributions to the Museum.[40]

His collection was received in July 1835 and like Wedge he was made an honorary member of the Society for his efforts. Bennet actually had a relative, a Mrs Cleaver living in Newport, Essex, which is not far from Saffron Walden, with whom he often stayed. He may have heard of the Museum from this source, having no other known connections with the Museum or surrounding area.

Bennet made his collection whilst working for the London Missionary Society, reporting on the development of their mission stations around the world. This lasted for a total of eight years, Bennet returning to England in 1829. Four of these years were spent in Polynesia which included visits to the Society Islands, Hawaii and New Zealand. In 1824 he visited Australia, returning to England via Java, China, India, Mauritius, Madagascar and South Africa. Throughout his travels, Bennet collected natural history as well as ethnography. The majority of his collection was made in the Pacific. He acquired his collections in a variety of ways, some presented to him as gifts, some collected by himself in the field and some exchanged for imported goods. He started to send his collections back to England whilst still abroad as early as 1823. Saffron Walden NHS was not the only institution to benefit from Bennet's collection; Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society and Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society also received donations from him (Anon 1981). Although Saffron Walden NHS was the last of these known institutions to receive a donation, and therefore acquired the final elements of his collection, they actually have the highest percentage of

[39] George Bennet (1775-1841) became a committed Christian at the age of 25 and went on to become an anti-slavery campaigner before being invited by the London Missionary Society to form one of a deputation to visit their various missionary stations in the South Seas. This journey lasted eight years (1821-1829), Bennet completing over 90,000 miles. On his return to England, he travelled the country giving lectures and raising funds at meetings of missionary societies. He died of a heart attack on 13th November 1841 (Anon 1981).

[40] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 3, 2nd May 1835 to 25th April 1836. 17th July 1835.

Bennet material still surviving today; 17 out of the original 25 objects are housed in Saffron Walden Museum (Pole 1987: 3-4).

One donor who should be recognized from this early period as an important supplier of colonial material is George Wombwell, founder of Wombwell's Travelling Menagerie, one of the largest and most popular shows in the country (see section 1.6.4 for further information on menageries). The Menagerie included a large number of exotic animals such as Bengal tigers, elephants, zebras, pumas and polar bears, a number of which were donated to the Saffron Walden NHS on their death (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 *Animals presented to the Saffron Walden NHS by the Wombwells*

Donation	Locality
Ostrich, emu, cassowary	Australia
Zebra, leopard	Africa
The nylghau, long lipped bear, tiger	India
Hyaena	Cape of Good Hope
Caffer cat	South Africa
Lioness and 4 cubs	Africa

The donations made by the Wombwells were received in the late 1830s and early 1840s. One of the most notable additions that can be seen in the Museum today is a Lion named Wallace (Figure 4.7).[41] He was sent to the Museum the day he died:

> Dudley July 19 1838
>
> Dear Sir,
> I have forwarded to you the remains of my old lion – he died this afternoon – I have sent it by the way of Birmingham to be forwarded by the Cambridge Coach – it will leave Birmingham tomorrow morning. Should you want any further particulars you can write to me at my annual depot, in the Commercial Road London. [42]

This was not just any lion, but was bred by the Wombwells, and was actually the first lion to be born in Britain. He was also of national fame because he was the undefeated hero of the lion and dog fights that took place in Warwick for a number of years, even though there was

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[41] From more information see 'The Story of Wallace our Lion' by Mary Whiteman, Saffron Walden Historical Society Journal, Autumn 1985, pages 102-106; 'Beastly Business' by Robert Halliday, Country Life, 9th December 1993, pages 16 & 47; 'Wallace the Lion' by Mark Sorrell, Essex Countryside, November 1991, pages 19-20.
Sunderland Museum also have a Lion by the name 'Wallace' in their collection received from Wombwell.

[42] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 3, 2nd May 1835 to 25th April 1836. 25th July 1838.

opposition against them from a number of sources (Whiteman 1985: 105). The Society was very pleased with this donation, replying with the following:

> The board of Management beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter … and to express too [sic] you their best thanks for sending them the remains of your old lion.
>
> Wishing you every success with your valuable collection, so creditable to anyone and particularly interesting to us from a consideration that you are a native of this part of our country. [43]

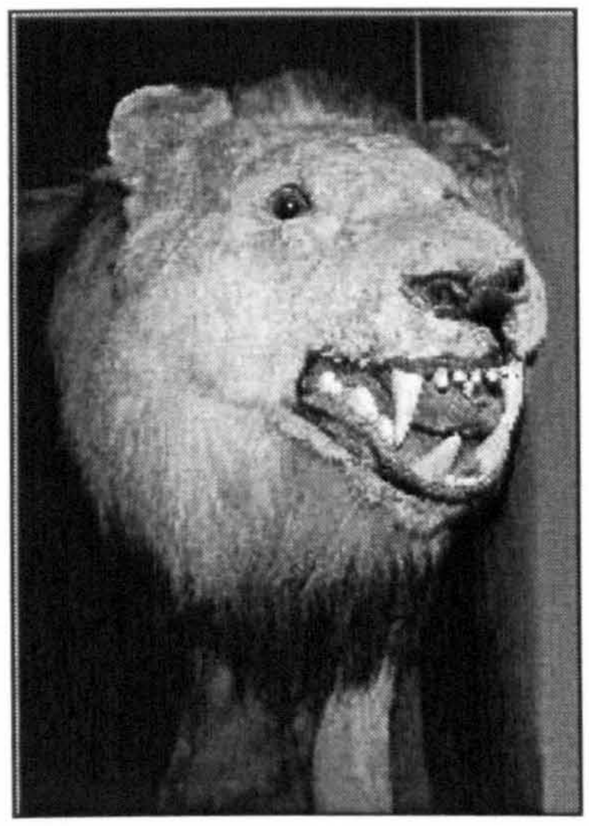

Figure 4.7 Wallace the Lion (as displayed in the Saffron Walden Museum today), donated by G. Wombwell (reproduced with the kind permission of Saffron Walden Museum).

It is not known who made contact with whom first, whether it was the Society who approached Wombwell or vice versa, but Wombwell does have a connection with Saffron Walden as he was a native of Duddendoe End, a small village outside Saffron Walden. Even though he moved away from the town, he still had family connections in the area, his sister Elizabeth living and dying in a small cottage in Duddenhoe End. Wombwell was fond of his sister and used to visit her periodically. He would also send for her to come to the Menagerie where she would stay in one of Wombwell's caravans, and it was said that she would be given part of the day's takings.[44]

All of the specimens provided by the Wombwells were gladly received by the Society:

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[43] The Saffron Walden NHS Letter book

[44] From a series of weekly articles entitled 'Rambles through Saffron Walden Museum' published in the Saffron Walden Weekly News, from August 1891.

> The museum having received several very valuable animals from Mr. and Mrs. Wombwell of the Commercial Road London - it was considered that some compliment should be paid to them of a substantial character.[45]

George Nathan Maynard, curator of the Museum in the late nineteenth century pointed out that Wombwell's gifts had greatly enriched the collections.[46] It is evident that Wombwell was more than just a donor to the Society. He encouraged others to donate to the Museum too. For example a letter addressed to the Superintendent of the Museum from a potential donor said:

> I understand from Mr. G. Wombwell that you are in want of a large Alligator I have.[47]

Another similar letter to the Secretary of the Museum from a G.H. Garnett again mentions another scenario of Wombwell advertising the Museum:

> Mr. Wombwell was here last evening while I was unpacking a box containing the skin and bones of a large ostrich from the cape [sic] they being for sale he desired I would inform you of it and make use of his name in doing.[48]

The success of the Saffron Walden NHS in obtaining colonial material during these early years can be attributed both to the active role played by the Society through: 1) the establishment of contacts (or making use of already established contacts) who were known to have international collections, 2) the connections which the people of the local area of Saffron Walden had with foreign lands, especially British colonies and 3) the philanthropic acts of its members. The initial colonial acquisitions were primarily made by those who were specifically contacted by the Society, and these were then followed by voluntary donations, the majority of which were acquired from people who were known to have a local connection with Saffron Walden. It may therefore have been the initial effort to acquire colonial donations, instigated by the Society, which influenced others to voluntarily donate similar material. In addition to the donors already mentioned, donations of colonial material to the

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[45] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 6, 5th September 1838 to 31st March 1841. 26th March 1841.
[46] From a series of weekly articles entitled 'Rambles through Saffron Walden Museum' published in a local newspaper, from August 1891.
[47] Letter to the Superintendent of the Museum dated July 1838 (Saffron Walden NHS letter book).
[48] Letter to the Secretary of the Society from G.H. Garnett dated 31st March (Saffron Walden NHS letter book).

Museum during this period were received from John Gould,[49] prolific collector, artist and publisher of ornithology, Jabez Gibson, Chairman of the Saffron Walden NHS, John Byron, member of the Admiralty, and Captain R. Glasspoole and Captain Henry Hall, both members of the Honorable East India Company. This continues to illustrate the wide variety of sources from which colonial collections were received. Some of these sources were quite surprising, for example, it is quite unexpected that an eminent naturalist such as John Gould would donate material to a relatively unknown, small, natural history society.

Through these donations and purchases (the majority were donations), it seems that the international perspective which the Saffron Walden NHS desired to present was being fulfilled, both in the form of its natural history and ethnographic collections. This period was their most successful in terms of obtaining colonial acquisitions, the pattern set in the 1830s not continuing for the rest of the century.

4.2.2 The mid-century (1840-1879): a period of decline

The success of the early years of the Museum's history, especially with respect to the number of accessions, meant it was rapidly running out of space to display the material it had and continued to receive. In 1837 a successful application was made to Lord Braybrooke to add two large rooms to the back of the Museum, one on the ground floor and one above, and two small rooms for the caretaker to occupy. In 1842 a second plea was made to Lord Braybrooke to raise the ceiling in the Agricultural Hall and insert an extra floor to be used by the Saffron Walden NHS, but this was turned down. Following this, a proposal was made for an 'ornament gallery' at the west end of the Hall, with an entrance from the Museum through a doorway in the chimney breast. This met with a similar fate to the previous suggestion (Pole 1985: 95-97).

It is in some ways fortunate that whilst the physical growth of the Museum had been prohibited, in the 1840s, colonial accessions were very low compared to the first decade of the Museum's foundation. This downturn in accessions maps the fortunes of the Society; they were entering a difficult period. Analysis of the minutes of the Trustee Committee meetings over the next three decades (1850s, 1860s and 1870s), which during this time were quite infrequent, give a distinct feeling of inactivity, especially in terms of acquisitions. The minutes of the meetings contain very little reference to the Society making contact with potential donors or any mention of thanks for donations made. This is very noticeable,

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[49] John Gould (1804-1881) was one of the most prolific artists and publishers of ornithological subjects. Gould traveled widely, including Australia, where he collected specimens. He employed artists to create his lithograph folios, and collectors to collect his specimens (Sauer 2004).

especially in comparison to the early minutes of the Society which were dominated with reports of acquiring specimens. One of the very few occasions when this subject was broached was in 1853, Mr. Joseph Clarke, reporting the receipt of seeds and raw materials shown in the Great Exhibition of 1851 from the East India Company.[50] The Saffron Walden NHS Committee were clearly concerned about the lack of donations as it is recorded in the minutes of one of their committee meetings that ways in which they could encourage people to donate material to the Society were discussed.[51]

During this period (1840-1879), the number of donations made to the Society was low, which was mirrored in the number of colonial donations received; the 1850s and 1860s receiving none at all (see Figure 4.1). The Society seemed to be more concerned by problems they faced such as the lack of space within the Museum.[52] The Museum was also in need of some physical work; repairs and alterations were needed to the roof as it was leaking and the outside of the Museum needed painting.[53] These problems add to the picture of the general demise of the Society at this time; the Museum was overcrowded and collections were negelected. However, there were also more positive events, which can be attributed to the energy of some of the people behind the scenes, such as Joshua Clarke.[54] For example, the Trustees employed a Mr Travis,[55] to rearrange the specimens in the Museum.[56] He agreed to rearrange the whole Museum for the sum of ten pounds, which also included labelling specimens. This was made into a permanent arrangement, Mr Travis agreeing to continue for a salary of five pounds per year.[57]

The most serious problem which the Society encountered during this period was of a financial nature. The Trustees regularly needed help to pay off the accumulated debts, as the Treasurer's accounts show. It is interesting to look through the finances of the Society at this time. They reveal that it was the Dunn consignment which put the Society in debt early in its history; in 1842 the Society had a total debt of £257.11.9. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s the annual accounts show an increasing deficit. They were just managing to make things balance, mostly with help from the trustees, subscriptions not being enough to balance

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[50] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 10th Feb 1853.
[51] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 26th November 1862.
[52] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 6th April 1865.
[53] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. Annual Meeting 19th April 1866.
[54] Joshua Clarke lived in Saffron Walden, where he worked as a successful and wealthy maltster. He was a member of the town council, serving as Mayor 10 times (Cooper 2000: 47).
[55] Unfortunately no biographical information associated with Mr Travis has been found.
[56] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 2nd May 1866.
[57] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 17th May 1871.

payments. The outlook was not encouraging, and in 1867 there was an unsuccessful attempt of an amalgamation of the Saffron Walden NHS with the Literary Institute (based in Saffron Walden), who were also struggling to survive. In the 1870s this crisis reached breaking point.[58] At the Annual Meeting of 1875 it was decided that a Committee should be appointed to solicit new members, so as to improve the financial situation of the Society.[59] Not long after, the debt of the Society was still £70, and it was suggested that, 'it might be desirable to submit the whole of the collection for sale'.[60] This intended action confirms the severity of the Society's financial situation, and also gives a general impression of the sorry state of the Society in this period. Fortunately, the suggestion to sell all the collection was never acted upon.

It seems then that the low rate of colonial acquisitions made by the Saffron Walden NHS during the period can be accounted for by the situation which the Society was in; one of financial difficulty and lack of progress, both in terms of general acquisition of specimens and the physical growth of the Museum itself. The Society was no longer actively encouraging the donation of material as at this point as it was not a high priority on the Museum's agenda. It was not until there was an improvement in the overall situation of the Society that the number of colonial acquisitions increased.

4.2.3 Prosperity returns (1880 - 1914)

The Society's financial worries were quashed in the early 1880s owing to an act of philanthropy by George Stacey Gibson,[61] which gave the Museum a new lease of life. George Gibson became a beneficiary to the Museum, but not simply through direct financial assistance. He was responsible for the extension of the Town Hall in 1879, which included an Assembly Hall where the Agricultural Society could meet; their previous meeting venue was a room within the building containing the Museum. This left a large space free which the Saffron Walden NHS used as an extension to their existing Museum. Gibson was also responsible for the payment of a Curator, as upon his own death he bequeathed an endowment

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[58] Saffron Walden Museum Treasurers Accounts 1837 to 1888.
[59] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. Annual Meeting 28th April 1875.
[60] Saffron Walden Museum Trustees Minute Book, 21st May 1851 to 23rd October 1894. 28th June 1875.
[61] George Stacey Gibson (1818-1883) was an important contributor to the town of Saffron Walden. He presented the town with a fountain in the market square, gave the land and £10,000 for a the Training College, gave land for the western end of the almshouses and left substantial grants to the Museum , Library, almshouses and local schools (Cooper 2000: 43-44; White 1991: 121-123 & 136-137).

towards the curator's salary,[62] as well as other expenses including the re-organisation of the Museum (Anon 1888: 105). Gibson did have a link with the Saffron Walden NHS through his uncle, Jabez Gibson, one of the original members of the Society.

From this period, the tone of the Trustee's minutes changed from that of a Society in crisis, to one of promise and prosperity. Donations again became a common part of the minutes, a large majority from the Trustees, Committee members or people who were closely associated with the Society. After a drought in donations over the previous 40 years, donations again started to flow into the Museum. In 1885 they received 14 donations, rising to 35 in 1886 and 59 in 1887. Visitor numbers were also on the increase with 3500 people visiting the Museum from March 1887 to March 1888, rising to 4660 visitors from 1888 to 1889. In the 1880s they also received another source of funding from a local woman, Mrs Tuck,[63] which allowed them to purchase 138 specimens of natural history. This period of growing prosperity for the Museum and Society is correlated with a corresponding rise in colonial donations, the 1880s experiencing a small peak.

One major colonial donation made during this period was a bequest from the late Charles Hervey, Rector of Great Chesterford, who died on 11th April 1880, aged 65. Hervey was from a wealthy family; he was the fifth son of the Marquis of Bristol. His donation included a number of ethnographic objects from South Africa including a woman's apron (Figure 4.8), swords and spears, as well as a number of objects from Hawaii and North America. Along with the ethnographic collection, of which there were over 100 items, he also donated pieces of classical pottery and local antiquities such as Roman earthenwares from Great Chesterford. Hervey did a lot of travelling, which is not surprising at a time when the European Tour was a must for any gentleman, however some of his journeys were much further afield. It is evident that he did not let his job interfere with his travel, as he was often absent from his parish.

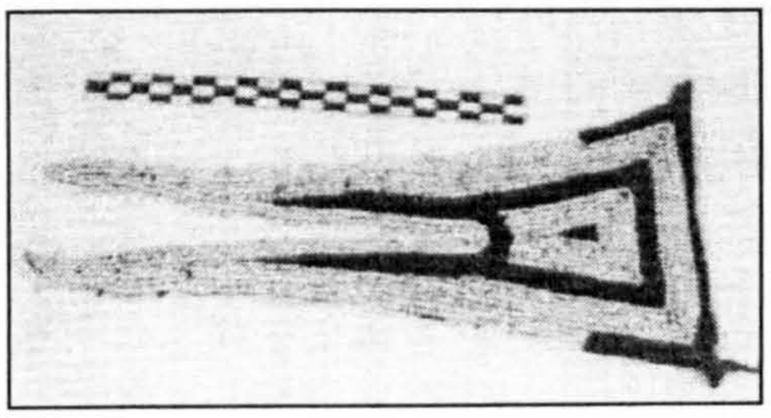

Figure 4.8 Woman's Apron from South Africa, probably Tswana Botswana, donated by Charles Hervey (Pole 1987: 5).

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[62] This is when the first paid curator George Nathan Maynard was employed. His first job was to move materials from the first floor to the ground floor, the place released by the moving of the Agricultural Society (Pole 1985: 97).

[63] Unfortunately no information could be found regarding Mrs Tuck.

Hervey's family had long-standing naval connections, so it is possible he had contacts throughout the world. One of his relatives was a Lord of the Admiralty in the 1770s, after which the Hervey Islands, later named the Cook Islands, were named. Charles himself may have also had connections with the Pacific, Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV of Hawaii, visiting him at his home in Great Chesterford during a trip to England in 1866. During this visit, she actually went to Saffron Walden Museum and donated some Hawaiian bark-cloth (Pole 1987: 5). He also had connections with Australia through his eldest son Charles Alfred Ryder Hervey (J. Bazley 2004, pers. comm.).

Although this period of prosperity saw a corresponding rise in colonial acquisitions (as well as acquisitions in general) it did not compare to the peak exhibited during the first decade of the Museum's establishment. There was no evidence found of the Saffron Walden NHS Committee actively seeking out colonial material as was described in its early years, which could explain the lower number of acquisitions received. Even though this was the case, the Committee does not seem to have discouraged the accession of colonial material, as a number of colonial acquisitions were purchases made by the Trustees. For example, in 1909 they purchased stuffed specimens of the Australian frilled lizard, in 1902 an Australian crow, in 1894 an Indian dagger and in 1884 a collection of Indian ethnographic objects. These purchases were quite sporadic and also modest in comparison to earlier purchases made, such as the African natural history collection from Robert Dunn. The donations made during this period demonstrate the local nature of those who donated colonial material to the Museum. Out of the 27 accessions made, 20 are known to be from those inhabiting the town of Saffron Walden. A number of these people had a close association with the Society itself, for example, Lady Braybrook (wife of Lord Braybrook) donated a collection of African ethnography in 1884 which she obtained through a missionary, a Rev. J. Winny.

This section has described the flow of colonial acquisitions into Saffron Walden NHS Museum, looking at the circumstances under which it was acquired. As yet, the use of this colonial material within the museum has been ignored. The next section will therefore go on to look at the display of this material within Saffron Walden Museum, examining what was actually on display, how it was displayed and the viewers attitudes towards this material throughout the period.

4.3 Display of colonial material

A number of sources written by both those involved directly with the Museum, for example members of the Society and/or Museum Committee, as well as those outside the Museum environment, gave descriptions of the interior of the Museum at various points in the

nineteenth century. One of the early descriptions was made by Nathan Maynard not long after the opening of the Museum in 1835. Nathan Maynard, was not a member of the Society, and was admitted to the Museum on a day set aside for admission by the public, for a small entrance fee of one shilling. From its opening up until 1880, admission to the Museum was to subscribers only, on one afternoon a week in the summer months, the Museum was completely closed during the winter period (Pole 1985: 4). Maynard described the Museum as follows:

> Stuffed birds and animals – shells, birds eggs, nests, skeletons and several bones of the mammoth – a beautiful rhinoceros, stuffed, which stands in the centre of the room, Indian curiosities, insects, casts of heads, medals, minerals, petrifactions, etc, head of an elephant, of a hippopotamus, horse, cow etc. (cited in Pole 1985: 95)

In this description, it is clear that the display of material was not limited to that of local objects and specimens. Maynard mentions 'a beautiful rhinoceros', 'an elephant head', 'a hippopotamus' and 'Indian curiosities' (the word Indian was then used to describe any materials of a foreign or exotic culture) all of which would have been collected and sent back to the Museum from afar. It is interesting that the majority of individual specimens which Maynard comments on are from the colonies. This indicates that the colonial material, for example the elephants and the rhinoceros had an impact on the viewer, clearly drawing their attention.

Some of these specimens occupied significant positions within the Museum, for example the stuffed rhinoceros, elephant and giraffe were situated in the centre of the room. By placing them in the centre of the room rather, then for example against the wall at the back of the room, they were immediately made prominent and important. There is evidence that the Society made a great effort to make sure that a number of the colonial specimens received, especially those from Robert Dunn, were set up ready for display when the Museum was open. The Society was in contact with James Flower (a taxidermist), in this respect, who set up the bones of a hippopotamus[64] and hyena[65] at great cost. This suggests that this material was seen as a valuable asset to the Society.

As can be imagined, with the number of accessions to the Society increasing, especially large specimens, such as the stuffed African elephant from the Dunn collection, which was put on display in 1837, the space dedicated to the Museum was filling up rapidly. The Trustees complained about the lack of space because it meant that the general collections and the British collections (including local material) had to be exhibited together when they

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[64] Letter to the Society from James Flower dated 23rd March 1835(Saffron Walden NHS letter book).
[65] Letter to the Society from James Flower dated 29th April 1836 (Saffron Walden NHS letter book).

wanted to keep the two types of collection distinct (Anon 1988: 105; for further discussion see section 9.4.2). In 1844, just under ten years after the Museum opening, a comprehensive list of the collections was made by John Player and published the following year. This well-illustrated catalogue demonstrates the international perspective of the Museum. As well as descriptive chapters, it contained an illustration of the inside of the Museum, an elephant, rhinoceros, giraffe, some Australian aboriginal weapons, stuffed birds and Roman pottery all clearly visible (Figure 4.9) This supports the earlier description given by Maynard (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9 Illustration from Saffron Walden Museum 1845 catalogue, colonial material clearly visible in the centre of the room (reproduced with the kind permission of Saffron Walden Museum).

Another informative description of the Museum was made in the final decade of the nineteenth century, in August 1891, when the first of a series of weekly articles entitled 'Rambles through Saffron Walden Museum' was published in a local newspaper.[66] As the title of the article suggests, they were concerned with giving the reader a tour of the Museum, describing what was on display and in some cases giving an in-depth description of individual specimens (see Figure 4.10 for an illustration of the Museum at this time [1886-1896]). It is interesting to note that up until December, a good three months after the articles began, they were dedicated to the description of foreign specimens; a high proportion of these specimens were from British colonies. This prominence shows their importance within the exhibits at the Museum and suggests that they were popular with the viewers. One of the early articles

[66] From a series of weekly articles entitled 'Rambles through Saffron Walden Museum' published in Saffron Walden Weekly News, from August 1891.

comments that, 'the animals in the middle of the room as the most striking first claim attention'. This is referring to the colonial material, including the rhinoceros and African elephant sent to the Society by Robert Dunn. The list continues: the *Equus* donated by George Wombwell, a Kudu, two giraffes, Wallace the Lion, a tiger, a spotted hyena from Mr Jabez Gibson, a Cape mole from South Africa, and a duck-billed platypus.

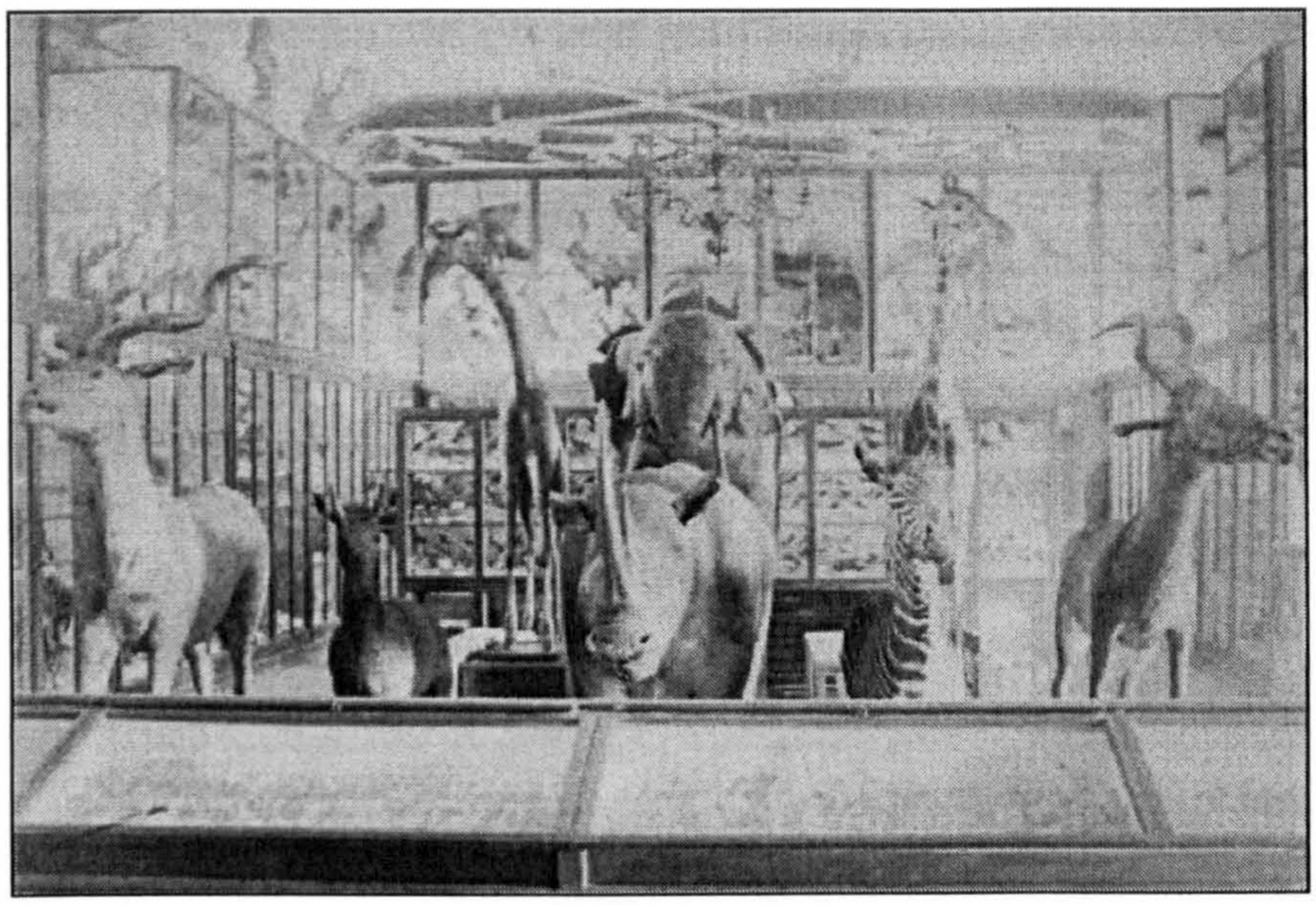

Figure 4.10 The Great Hall, Saffron Walden Museum 1886-1896 (SAFWM 1909.61; (reproduced with the kind permission of Saffron Walden Museum).

It is apparent that from the first description which was written in the first half of the nineteenth century, to the description made at the end of the nineteenth century, the way in which these exotic animals were displayed did not change, the international collection seemingly taking centre stage. In all accounts, the majority of colonial specimens which were specifically referred to are from Dunn's collection, and all specimens mentioned were acquired in the early period of the Museum's history. Another common factor is the division made between the international specimens and those from Britain, both when looking at the display as well as the descriptions made. It is the international collection which receives most attention even though Saffron Walden's British collection was by no means inadequate. An article printed in the 1880s described, 'the British Mammal series [as] practically perfect' (Anon 1988: 106). Both descriptions suggest that colonial material played an important role in the museum's display, in particular, attracting the attention of the viewer (this seems to be the case for both Nathan Maynard and the newspaper reporter).

4.4 Conclusions

From its formation and throughout the nineteenth century, the Saffron Walden NHS was the depository of a great variety of colonial collections, from an extensive collection of South African natural history specimens to weapons of the Australian Aborigines. These donations were proudly displayed in Saffron Walden Museum attracting the attention of the viewers, and indeed are still displayed today. The Museum now hosts a large ethnographic collection of some 3500 items and it is interesting to note the nucleus of this collection was assembled by 1845 (Pole 1987: 3). This early period of the Museum's history proved to be the most productive in terms of the quantity of colonial acquisitions received. These were donated from people who were directly connected with Britain's imperial regime, such as George Bennet who worked for the London Missionary Society, and John Helder Wedge, a surveyor in Tasmania and South East Australia, and those with no obvious direct connections such as George Wombwell, or Lord Charles Hervey.

It is evident that the flow of colonial acquisitions was directly influenced at the level of the museum. The decision makers at the Society (those on the Committee) played an active role in the acquisition of material; it was not wholly by chance that the Society received a large amount of colonial material during its early years. From the Society's formation, it was clear that they wanted their institution to give an international perspective (in particular by illustrating the 'habits of differing nations', possibly owing to the religious beliefs of founding members), and they guaranteed that this would be the case by carefully guiding this material into its path. This was done by establishing contacts and cultivating relationships with those who could provide them with these collections. This extensive network of connections made by the Society was easily formed. As well as establishing new contacts, individual members of the Committee utilised connections they had with people who had access to the British colonies, a number of whom rewarded the Society with specimens, For example the large collection of South African zoology from Robert Dunn was commissioned by his brother Hannibal Dunn who sat on the Committee of the Society.

The activity of the Committee played an integral role in acquiring colonial material during this period, as did the Trustees. The philanthropic acts of the Trustees, for example, the purchase of specimens for the Society, often resulted in the Museum gaining colonial specimens. Acts of philanthropy have been illustrated throughout the museums history, from its construction, which was possible owing to Lord Braybrooke, to large monetary gifts, for example those of George Stacey Gibson, which had a huge impact on the development of the institution. As was noted by Cooper (2000:175-195) those who carried out philanthropic acts often had ulterior motives, using them as a method of raising their social standing. This theory could be transferred to the great effort made by individual Committee members and Trustees

to use their money and/or connections to procure exotic collections, possibly an opportunity to show-off their financial situation and the connections they had with these colonial lands (for further discussion of the possible benefits of donating colonial material see section 9.3.2).

It is interesting to speculate why such effort was taken by the Society to acquire colonial material; were they simply following the example set by national museums and societies, such as the British Museum (see section 9.2.4 for further discussion of provincial museums emulating national museums in terms of their acquisitions) and the Zoological Society of London? This chapter has revealed that colonial material was essential in one respect; attracting the attention of the viewers. It was popular with visitors throughout the century, from the opening of the museum in the 1830s right through to the end of the century. This is not surprising owing to their exotic nature. Although the Committee did not actively encourage its accession throughout this period, it always remained on display; interestingly in prominent positions within the Museum environment (see section 9.2.2 for further discussion on the role of colonial material as entertainment). Within the Committee minutes there was little mention of the scientific value of this material, with the exception of the Society's attempt to try and escape paying duty on the cargo sent by Dunn owing to the fact that it consisted of scientific objects. There was little debate for example of the systematic display of this material; as long as the foreign material was separated from the British material they were happy.

Although the Society had no problems acquiring colonial material during the first decade, it did not continue to enter the Museum at this rate. The first decade, was most prosperous both in terms of accessions and the general welfare of the Society. At this point, the Society had an empty Museum to furnish with specimens and therefore had to acquire a large number of specimens in a short amount of time, which with the help of the Committee it did. Once the number of specimens accessioned reached a critical level, that is, once the Museum was fully filled with exhibits, the accession of collections was probably much less urgent than before. This period therefore was the most important in terms of accessions, and possibly acted as a magnification of those which would follow. It seems that the effort made by the Society to acquire colonial material may well have influenced others to voluntarily donate similar collections, possibly evidence that the material first accessioned by a museum was influential on future accessions (see section 3.4.1). The fact that colonial donations played an important role in this period of the Society's history is therefore very significant. However, after this time, other factors concerning the general welfare of the Museum seem to have affected the flow of colonial acquisitions, the rise and fall of acquisitions seemingly following the overall pattern of the prosperity of the Museum. For example, when the Museum was first opened colonial donations were high, but financial crisis and general decline in the mid-century led to a decline in donations. Then, in the 1880s, as the Museum's

prosperity rose (largely owing to the work of a beneficiary, George Stacey Gibson), so did the number of colonial donations, although not to the same level as the initial 1830s peak.

This explanation discounts political events at the level of Empire having a direct effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions to the Saffron Walden NHS and is further backed up when looking at the individual flow of material from each colony, all of which are very similar. There is no evidence, for example, that the quantity of African material rose at the end of the century during the intense period of British colonialism which occurred there during this period. This does not however completely discount the influence of the British Empire on the acquisition of colonial material. I have already revealed, for example, that a number of donations made were by those who were directly involved in British colonialism, employed by the army, or as missionaries or those who emigrated to the colonies.

Saffron Walden was a small rural town, land-locked, with poor connections, yet with seemingly little effort the Saffron Walden NHS managed to acquire material from across the globe. On the formation of the Society, when the decision was made that the Museum should contain colonial material, they found no barriers to acquiring this material. The majority of donors, whether they had been directly contacted by the Society or had voluntarily donated material, all had one factor in common; they all had connections with the small town of Saffron Walden. Many of the donors lived in the town and others had less direct connections, that is, they formerly lived in the area or had relatives who lived there. This demonstrates that even in such a small and relatively isolated town as Saffron Walden, a large number of people were directly affected by the pursuit of Empire, or knew people who were involved. This really illustrates the extent of influence of the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

Saffron Walden were very proud to receive donations from people who lived in the local area, which was made clear when Wombwell made a donation which they thought was:

> particularly interesting to us from a consideration that you are a native of this part of our country.[67]

The Society may have been proud to display material from locals, especially colonial material, as it clearly illustrated the connections which the town had with the far-off, exotic lands of the colonies and possibly highlighted British colonial endeavour (for further discussion on the link between colonial material and civic pride see section 9.2.3).

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[67] The Saffron Walden NHS Letter book

5 Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society

5.1 The formation of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society

This chapter is concerned with the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (Whitby LPS), established in 1823. Whitby is a small town situated on the north east coast of England on the River Esk (see Figure 2.1). However, to simply refer to Whitby as a coastal town would be misleading, as it took full advantage of its coastal position and supported a thriving, active port throughout the nineteenth century (Jones 1982; for further discussion on Whitby's port industry see section 5.3). The Whitby LPS was one of many membership organisations which became a common part of Victorian civic culture, especially in industrial towns (Davidoff & Hall 2002: 429-436 & Morris 1990: 228-248). The county of Yorkshire, with several industrialised towns, illustrates this, a number of societies being founded between 1818 and 1881, including the Whitby LPS (Table 5.1; Brears 1984; Alberti 2003a).

Table 5.1 *The formation of Victorian philosophical societies in Yorkshire (taken from Alberti 2003a: 358)*

Name of Society	Year of Establishment
Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society	1818
Yorkshire Philosophical Society	1822
Hull Literary and Philosophical Society	1822
Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society	1822
Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society	*1823*
Scarborough Philosophical Society	1827
Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society	1830
Wakefield Naturalists' and Philosophical Society	1852
Huddersfield Literary and Philosophical Society	*c.*1857
Bradford Philosophical Society	1865
Cleveland Literary and Philosophical Society (originally named Middlesbrough Athenaeum)	1863
Keighley Scientific and Literary Society	1881

Advocates for the formation of philosophical societies were generally local wealthy gentlemen (generally from the moneyed middle classes), many with an interest in scientific affairs and a dedication to the cause of learning (see section 1.5.1 for further information on literary and philosophical societies). The Whitby LPS fits this model. The main driving force behind its foundation was the local Presbyterian minister, Rev. George Young,[1] although

[1] Rev. George Young was a Presbyterian minister in the town of Whitby. He was a keen geologist and in 1822 published a *Geological Survey of the Yorkshire Coast* (Browne 1946: 18-24).

other gentlemen of the town such as Richard Moorsom[2] who was from a well-known family of ship-owners and Henry Belcher[3] who was a solicitor, also played important roles. An examination of people who were involved in the Society on its foundation (all of whom were members of its Council), gives a good cross-section of the commercial interests of the town at the time, for example, ship-owners (e.g. John Holt), surgeons (e.g. John Mewburn; Richard Ripley), shipbuilders (e.g. Thos. Fishburn), bankers, (e.g. John Frankland) and merchants (e.g. Joseph Sanders).[4] Any meeting of the Whitby LPS therefore would have given ample opportunities for these prominent members of the town to network, and most probably converse about business. A number of these men were also involved in other philanthropic schemes, for example Richard Ripley, a Whitby surgeon, brought forward the establishment of the public baths in Whitby (Browne 1946: 129).

The Whitby LPS can be described as one of the 'second generation of provincial societies' (Alberti 2002: 298), along with a number of other Yorkshire based societies (such as Hull and Sheffield Literary and Philosophical; Table 5.1). Alberti (2002: 298) suggests that the second wave of societies had a 'stronger remit' to form museums; this is certainly reflected at the Whitby LPS. Their Museum was placed at the forefront of Society business; other activities such as the proposed reading of essays took a subsidiary role (Browne 1946: 58). A circular was sent by the gentlemen involved in the establishment of the Whitby LPS to selected town members (those of a similar status, i.e. middle-class gentlemen) announcing their desire to form a society and museum, and even at this early stage the prominent role that the museum would play was made clear:

> For some time past, a number of Gentlemen in Whitby have wished to have a Society formed, for collecting and supporting a Whitby Museum, and that a Public Meeting would be speedily held, to establish a Society for carrying the plan into effect. (quoted in Browne 1946: 2)

Within this circular the hopes and ambitions of the Society were clearly set out; the three main aims being education, entertainment and civic pride:

> It will furnish the youth of Whitby and the Vicinity, with some pleasing subjects for

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[2] Richard Moorsom was the first President of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society from 1823-1838. He was deeply involved in politics, and at his failed election to Parliament he left the area to live in Hastings in 1838 (Browne 1946: 78).

[3] Henry Belcher was the Society's second President from 1838 to 1854. He was also the first President of the Whitby Institute of Popular Arts, Science and Literature. He took a great interest in the affairs of Whitby and was held in great esteem by the population. His posts included, Steward to the Lord of the Manor and Coroner and Officer for the newly-elected Borough of Whitby in 1832 (Browne 1946: 79-81).

[4] Taken from the Whitby Local Directory (the Baines Directory) 1823

> study, and sources of amusement; it will prove a valuable repository, where interesting objects in nature and art, which might otherwise be lost, may be preserved to future generations: it will benefit the town by becoming an object of attraction for strangers, particularly literary characters, whose enquiries into the nature of our rocks and petrifactions it will greatly facilitate: it will thus add to the respectability of Whitby, and make it rank higher among the towns which patronise literature and the arts. (quoted in Browne 1946: 4)

This statement reveals the overall aims of the Museum, but it does not divulge specific details of what the Society would collect and display within their Museum, although the reference to 'our rocks and petrifactions' indicates that local material would be included. It was not until the first official meeting of the Whitby LPS, in the Whitby Town Hall on 17th January 1823, that the seventh point of the laws and regulations of the Society stated that:

> the Museum shall comprise Collections of Fossils, Antiquities, specimens in Natural History; with other Miscellaneous Curiosities, whether of Nature or Art; to which may be added Scientific Books and Philosophical Apparatus.[5]

This suggests that the Museum would have a broad outlook, accepting almost any material, both of natural and artificial production. It was not specified however, whether the Museum would take a local, national or international focus. The mention of 'Miscellaneous Curiosities' suggests that they were keen to acquire material of a foreign nature; foreign ethnographic material, of which little was known, was often referred to as 'curios' or as 'curiosities'. Indeed, the majority of material within the Department of Miscellaneous Curiosities was foreign ethnographic objects.

Although there was this indication of the Society's desire for international material, local material featured heavily, the rich availability of fossils in the immediate area emphasised. The Society was keen to acquire this material to prevent other local societies doing the same (Brears 1984: 4):

> the facilities offered for establishing a Museum in Whitby, are such as few places enjoy, especially in the Fossil department. Whitby is the chief town of a district abounding with Petrifactions. (quoted in Browne 1946: 2)

The emphasis on local geological collections is significant. Knell (2000: 63) suggests that:

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[5] 1st Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, presented at the Annual Meeting, 21st January 1824

> The town's maritime connections meant that it had no difficulty in attracting exotica, but such items would never surpass the society's interest in local fossils.

Whitby's connections with the rest of the world (owing to its port situation) made material from further afield accessible. Although the port of Whitby was not on the same scale as those of London or Liverpool, when compared to other minor ports around Britain it was one of the most successful. Life in Whitby revolved around the port as it was the main source of local employment, so it could be hypothesised that the Whitby LPS would have links through those who worked in port-related industries to foreign lands (see section 5.3 for further discussion on the affect of the port on the accession of colonial material by Whitby LPS). These international connections are evident when an examination of the members of the Council of the Whitby LPS is carried out, some being ship-owners and others merchants of traded products, such as tea.

This chapter will not refute Knell's comment (2000: 63; see above) that the Society regarded local fossils more important than material from overseas. However, it will reveal that material from overseas, which was widely available to the Society owing to its port position, played a significant role in its development. The following section will disclose if the Whitby LPS received material from foreign lands by examining the flow of colonial acquisitions they experienced between 1823 and 1914.

5.2 The flow of colonial acquisitions

The Whitby LPS received colonial material during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figure 5.1). However, this material was not received in a continuous flow throughout the century. Figure 5.1 shows a distinct pattern to the flow of acquisitions, which can be divided into four phases. The first phase shows a major peak in acquisitions from the 1820s to the 1840s which far exceeds any peak to follow. The second phase demonstrates a sudden decrease in donations during the 1840s leading to a steady but low flow of material over the next 30 years. The third phase consists of a minor peak in the 1870s, although this is much smaller than the first peak described. After this time the number of colonial acquisitions made from the 1890s to 1914 are very low and infrequent. When colonial acquisitions are separated into ethnographic and natural history material, the patterns exhibited followed the trend displayed in Figure 5.1. The number of natural history acquisitions received was greater (60%) than ethnography (40%), but again the flow of both types of material followed that demonstrated in Figure 5.1.

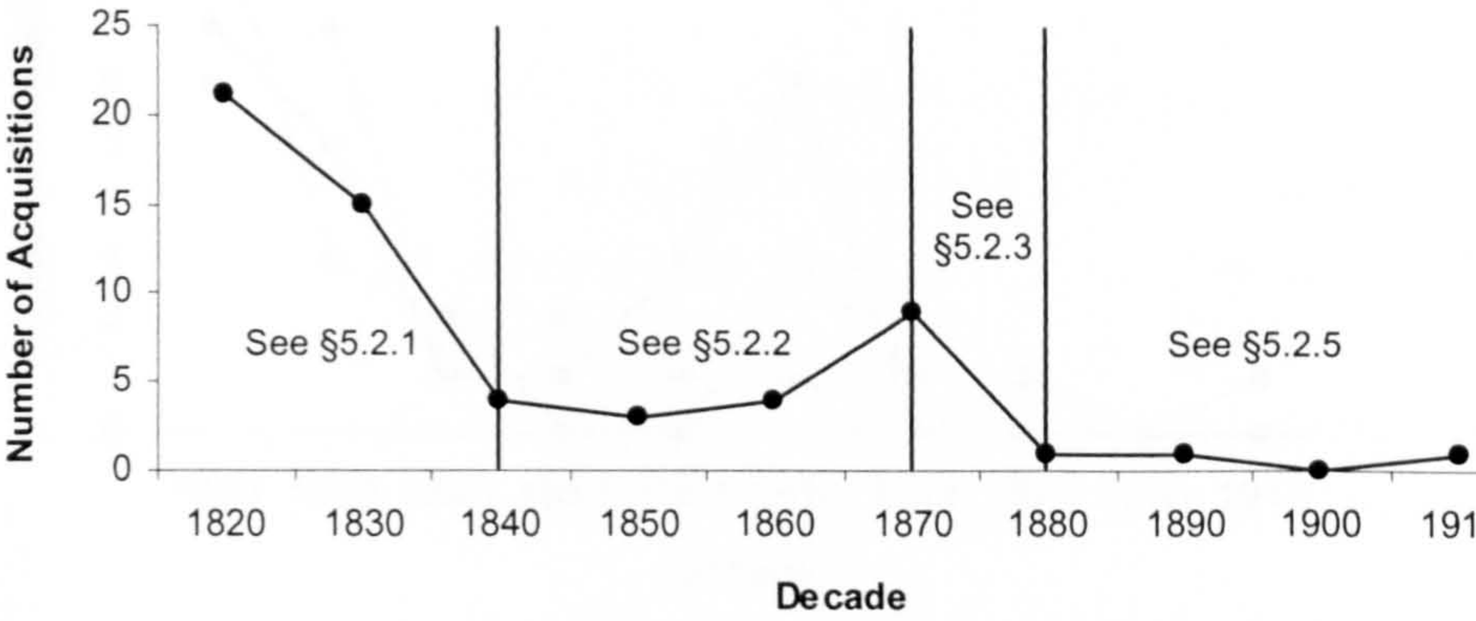

Figure 5.1 Australian, African and Indian acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) made by Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society from 1823 to 1914, indicating which sections deal with each time phase.

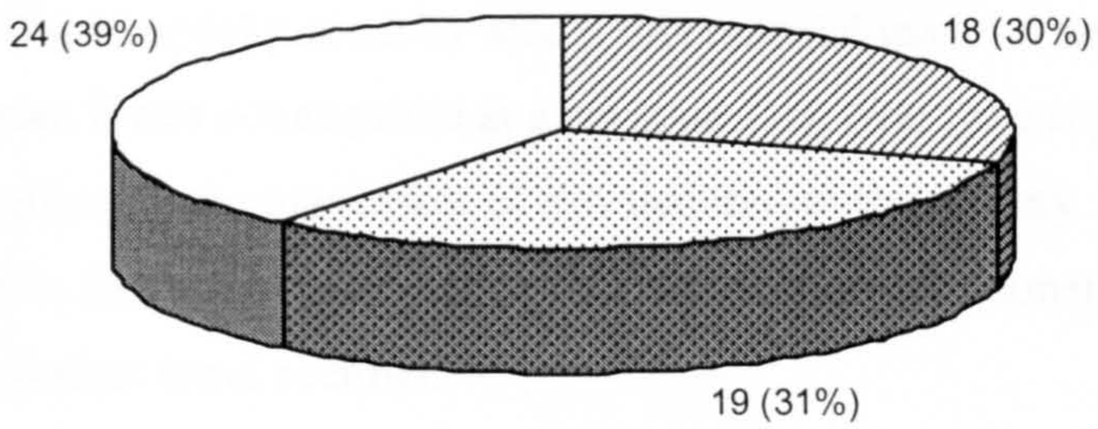

Figure 5.2 Quantity (and percentage) of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) received from the individual colonies of Africa (plain), Australia (striped) and India (dotted) by Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society between 1823 and 1914.

The quantity of material acquired from the individual colonies of Africa, Australia and India was evenly spread (Figure 5.2). The flow of colonial material from each individual colony (Figure 5.3) overall followed the trend exhibited by the combined flow of colonial acquisitions shown in Figure 5.1. It is evident that the only noticeable difference between the colonies occurs in the two peaks in 1830 and 1870. The small peak in the 1870 is dominated by African and Indian material, whereas the peak in 1830 is dominated by Australian material.

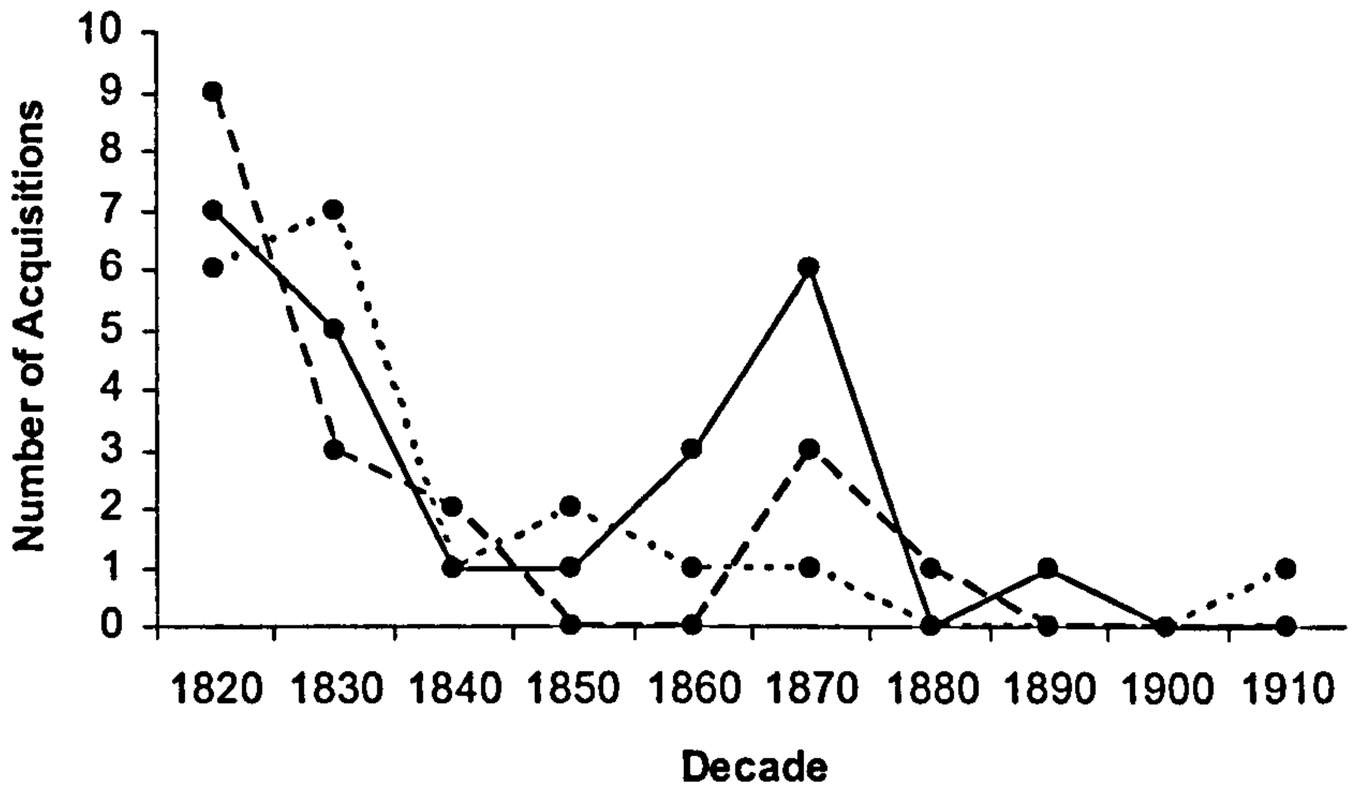

Figure 5.3 Flow of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) from the individual colonies of Africa (solid line), Australia (small dashes) and India (large dashes) experienced by Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society from 1823 and 1914.

The bimodal pattern by which this colonial material was received is very distinct and the fact that it was not acquired at a constant flow over time suggests that there may have been factors affecting the movement of this material to the Society. An examination of the development of the Society over this time and those who were donating this material may reveal why this distinct trend occurred.

5.2.1 The early years (1823-1839): a time of encouragement and enthusiasm

It was the period directly following the establishment of the Society when the greatest number of colonial acquisitions entered the Museum (Figure 5.1). During this time the Society were readily accepting donations. As already revealed, there was no real policy as to the geographical nature of the objects/specimens which would be displayed in the Museum. Their collection policy was extremely broad accepting objects of science and arts from the local area in addition to further afield. It is probable therefore that people would have been able to donate almost anything to the Museum. When examining the annual reports however, it is one particular type of collection and donor which stands out. It is evident that material from overseas was being enthusiastically accepted, predominantly from the sea faring community of Whitby. The Society gave a special mention of thanks to these people in their annual report which in itself is an outward sign of praise and encouragement for further donations to be made. For example, in the second annual report (1825) it was recorded that:

> the Council feel a pleasure in observing, that in this year, and in the last, the Society has been much indebted to Captains of Ships, and other sea-faring friends. [6]

A number of sea captains were personally acknowledged including Captains Potter, Dunning, Dixon, Allely, Kearsley and Terry.[7] Collections from these Captains came from a variety of exotic places including Australia, New Zealand, Van Dieman's Land [Tasmania], Davis Straits and Brazil. Their acknowledgement within the annual report is significant as these people were specifically selected; not all donors were given this special treatment. The Society was taking full advantage of Whitby's connections with foreign lands via the shipping industry in the quest to acquire exotic material for the Museum. The report continues by actively encouraging the pattern of donating foreign material which had been set:

> Thus, the characteristic generosity of British Seamen has been exemplified in the Captains belonging to the Port; and it may be fairly presumed, that our seamen, who visit all quarters of the globe will continue to augment our collections from year to year.[8]

Ship captains had a relatively high status and their exploits, including where they travelled, would be known by the town. There can be no doubt that donating material to the Museum would have raised their status in the eyes of those involved in the Whitby LPS to an even higher level. This may have been advantageous to ship captains, especially as the Council of the Society included ship-owners.

In the third annual report (1826) gratification to the sea captains is again expressed, a number of donors again being referred to personally:

> The departments of Natural History, Antiquities, and Miscellaneous Curiosities, have also acquired large consignment, chiefly by the liberality of friends; among whom our seafaring friends deserve as in former years, to be peculiarly noticed. In the list of generous Donors, will be found the names of Capt Allen Otty, R.N., Captains Braithwaite, Dixon, Dunning, Potter, and Willis, Mr. Thomas Harding and other Seamen; several of whom were contributors last year.[9]

And finally, in the seventh annual report (1830) recognition and praise is given to the same

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[6] 2nd Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, presented at the Annual Meeting, 21st January 1825
[7] Unfortunately further information on these sea captains has not been found.
[8] 2nd Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, presented at the Annual Meeting, 21st January 1825
[9] 3rd Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1826

group of people, but in this case in a slightly more sycophantic manner. It should also be noted that it is not just the captains who are recognised, but a more general mention of 'sailors and maritime men' is made. The Society seemingly wants to make it clear that any man connected with the sea can collect and donate to the Museum:

> [The Society] have much gratification in announcing, that the interest excited on the behalf of the Museum, in all classes of travellers, belonging to the town and port of Whitby continues to increase. Few sailors and maritime gentlemen return from distant countries, without giving proofs of their zeal, in bringing or sending curiosities to enrich the collection. The islands of Japan, the continent of India, the shores of Africa, the mines of South America, and those rocky islands nearest to the north pole, have furnished specimens, which are of nature and art, to augment the wealth of our Institution.[10]

The reports give the impression that local sea-faring men were very enthusiastic about donating foreign material to the Museum, for example it is recorded in the seventh annual report (1830) that:

> Mr. [Captain] Philip Aldridge, when hearing, accidentally in the streets of Calcutta, that a Museum was formed in Whitby, has hastened to add his bit - a small but beautiful box of shells, with other curiosities; regretting that he had unfortunately, disposed of much larger one a short time before.

By 1830 out of the 21 colonial acquisitions made by the Society, almost half had been donated by sea captains, with objects and specimens from the three colonies of Australia, Africa and India represented. The majority of these captains made only one donation which consisted of a single or in some cases two objects/specimens, none were complete or systematic collections. For example, Captain Dixon donated a duck billed platypus from Australia in 1825, Captain Marley donated a wooden spear from Australia in 1828 and Captain J. Smith in 1829 donated an African Elephant's molar and an African mandingo bow. Even those who donated a larger number of items (the maximum number of specimens per donation was eight) did not seem to have a constant theme running through their donations. For example, in 1829 Captain P. Aldridge donated two specimens of African wood, an East Indian Shell, a violin, a drum and a kettledrum (India), and a confession stone made of mud from the Ganges. It can be confidently said that these objects/specimens were collected as souvenirs whilst these sailors were out on voyage, probably owing to their curiosity value.

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[10] 7th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1829

During this period the donations made by sea-faring men were still being referred to in the annual report as curiosities. These curiosities were looked upon favourably by the Society and were highly valued as they believed that they would, 'augment the wealth' of the Society. [11] They also attributed these collections to attracting 'the scientific, the learned, and the curious', to the Museum.[12] By increasing the wealth of the Society and attracting visitors, the Society would be helping to fulfil its aim to:

> add to the respectability of Whitby, and make it rank higher among the towns which patronise literature and the arts. (Browne 1946: 2)

It is therefore not surprising that they were actively encouraging people to donate this material.

In addition to the encouragement which sea-faring men received through the praising statements published in the annual reports, in 1827 it was decided that officers of the Army and Navy should be granted free admission as honorary members, during their official residence.[13] This would have given them the opportunity to see the gifts donated by others, which may have promoted them to collect and donate similar objects themselves. The Society was possibly using this as a way to expand their audience and in particular, to increase the possibility of receiving acquisitions from those who had contact with foreign lands. This approach may have worked, as during the following year a donation was made by a member of the Royal Navy, Captain Constantine Moorsom, who belonged to a family of sea-faring men (Ventress 1998). Moorsom presented the Museum with a number of items in 1828; African spears and arrows, a cloth from Madagascar and a flintlock shotgun which had been presented to him by Radama, King of Madagascar.

The colonial objects donated in the first five years of the Society were rapidly filling up the Department of Miscellaneous Curiosities, where the majority were deposited. In fact, the fifth annual report (1827) states that it was the fastest growing of all categories of donations received by the Society. This department was proving to be of great interest to the visitors of the Museum and formed one of the most popular exhibits. This may explain the keenness of the Society to increase this type of donation, as they were guaranteed to bring in visitors and therefore increase the success of the Museum. The great effort to encourage the donation of foreign objects carried on into the 1830s, the Society still pleased to see the influx of foreign collections. In each annual report the Society made a point to thank people for their generous donations, however, they went further than this, referring to the special effort made

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[11] 7th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1829
[12] 13th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1835
[13] 5th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1827

by those who donated overseas collections again stressing their importance, 'zeal and liberality'.[14]

At the end of the 1830s the Society made more specific pleas for foreign donations, and in particular for those of natural history in which they felt their collection was lacking. This is the first evidence of the Museum identifying a precise area of the collections which they wished to enrich and the first time that their desire for foreign natural history collections was revealed:

> As to specimens in zoology and entomology of other climates, of which we have so slender a collection; as also fossils, both organic and mineral, from other countries; these might be conveniently procured by an exchange of Whitby fossils, which here are so accessible. The traffic [will] be mutually advantageous – add a varied beauty to our Museum, tend to profit the lovers of science, as well as please the curious. [15]

This statement is also interesting as it encourages people to use the richness of specimens found within Whitby as a tool of exchange for foreign specimens. This could have occurred to the detriment of the local collection, material of local interest lost to supplement the Society's foreign collection. This suggests that the acquisition of foreign material was of a higher (or at least equal) priority to the Society than local material, possibly owing to the role it played in attracting those interested in science and entertaining the curious. Obviously local material would be in abundance and of a higher availability which the Whitby LPS could easily exploit. Foreign material on the other hand would have been more of a challenge to acquire. Just as foreign material was desired by the Whitby LPS because of its value and rarity, material from Whitby, especially the rich fossil material which it held, would have been sought after by others. If it was not for its common occurrence, Whitby would probably not have suggested the exchange of local material. As the Society did not have funds to purchase specimens, this exchange was a perfect way to acquire material which would give their Museum a global perspective.

Although the Society's encouragement at this early stage could be a possible factor contributing to the peak exhibited in colonial acquisitions, the fact that this was the early years in the Society's history may have also been influential. It is often at the onset of an activity or formation of a group when people are most enthusiastic and keen to become involved. At this time the Society was new and locally-renowned and would have been very keen to receive donations, especially the unusual. People would have been eager to donate objects at this time because of the recognition they would receive and because by donating

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[14] 13th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1835
[15] 17th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1839

they would become involved in this new Society helping it to become firmly established. Members of the community would recognise people who made donations, by word of mouth, reading the annual report or actually seeing the object in the Museum. Most importantly, it would be noted by the members of the Society, which, because of who they were, the gentlemen of Whitby, may have put the donor in good stead and given many advantages (for further discussion on the advantages of donating colonial material see section 9.3.2). Another reward they could acquire by donating collections of note to the Museum was to be made an honorary member of the Society. This pleasure was granted to a number of colonial donors such as Capt. Stephenson Ellerby.[16]

The visitor figures of the time prove that the Museum was popular; 300 visitors received in the first year (1824), doubling in the second. The location of the Museum at this time was a rented room above the shops of R. & J. Ripley and John Morrell in Baxtergate, Whitby, next door to which another room was rented out as a council room. With the growth of the Museum, both physically with the increasing number of collections and also in popularity with its visitors, there was a suggestion in 1825 that premises on the Quays should be bought, demolished and a new building for the Museum be erected (Browne 1946: 15). This suggestion was duly followed and in 1826 the Museum was relocated to the second floor of this new premise with the bottom floor being rented to Whitby Subscription Library and the Bath Company (*ibid.*). With the interest and popularity this move created, it was likely that more people would become aware of the Society and their appeals for donations, and for similar reasons to those mentioned above, people would be keen to become involved, possibly by making donations.

5.2.2 A problematic era (1840-1869): lack of enthusiasm, space and money

The 30 year period from 1840 to 1869 saw a decrease in the number of colonial acquisitions received by the Society. A number of factors can be correlated with this decline. The Whitby LPS experienced several problems during this period. The size of Whitby Museum was a concern; the capacity of the Museum meant that only a small proportion of the objects donated could be displayed. In the 30th annual report (1852) the size of the Museum was discussed and it was decided that a bigger building was needed in order to allow all acquisitions received to be exhibited. People may have been less eager to donate to the Society as they knew their donations would not obtain a guaranteed exhibit space in the Museum due to this lack of space.

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[16] Captain Stephen Ellerby made donations in 1831 and 1832 which included a number of natural history specimens from Australia

Despite the drop in colonial donations, the annual report of 1845 reveals that the Society was still confident of receiving donations, especially from the town's sea community:

> Through the kindness of friends, and especially through the zeal of our maritime townsmen, the Museum is almost daily enriched by fresh donations; an account of which will be seen on reference to our Annual List.[17]

This comment is contradictory, although it claims that donations are received daily from the maritime men of the town, this is not reflected in the records which verify the number of colonial donations received by the Museum at this time; colonial donations were very low (Figure 5.4). The explanation for this statement may be that the 'almost daily' donations received by the maritime men of Whitby were from other countries which have not been the focus of this study, or simply that the Society was being economical with the truth, using this statement as a way to encourage people to make colonial donations to the Whitby LPS.

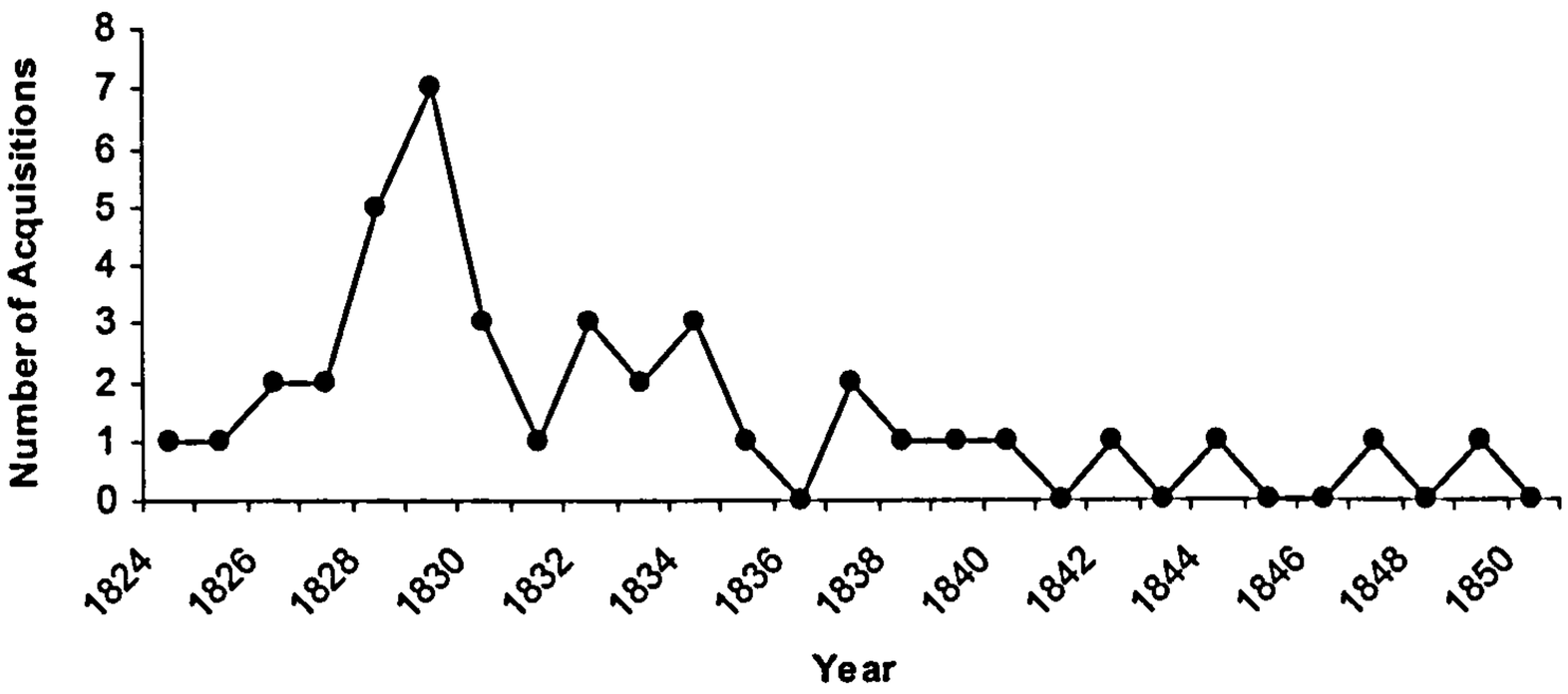

Figure 5.4 Number of African, Australian and Indian donations (natural history and ethnography) made each year to the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society from 1824-1850.

The Society's habit of thanking the maritime community of Whitby for donations in the annual report continues during this period, however, they are more infrequent and the emphasis of these entries changes in two ways. Firstly, it is no longer the maritime people of Whitby who are thanked, but 'friends both at home and abroad'.[18] This change of emphasis suggests that the Society was not exclusively receiving donations from maritime men. Of the nine donors who donated objects between 1840 and 1870, only a third were made by sea captains, which is a decrease from the first decade, when they comprised 40% of donors.

[17] 23rd Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1845
[18] 40th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1862

Secondly, the emphasis of thanking people for donations seems to be attached to the quest to obtain a new museum building which would give additional space for the exhibition of acquisitions:

> The number of donations to the Museum well attest the interest which friends both at home and abroad still take in its increase and attracting so much so that your council are being continually placed in straits for their suitable deposit and exhibition, indeed their most pressing want at present is accommodation.[19]

The Society actually encourages people to donate, yet at the same time complain because of the lack of space; this in itself is a paradox:

> Let us then, as one of our members has well remarked on a former occasion, endeavour to increase our collection, thankful to those enlightened men who in past years had zeal enough in the cause of science to undertake its formation, leaving to us the comparative easy task of preservation and addition, at the same time keeping in view the importance of extending the place at a convenient period, for its better accommodation; some of our valuable specimens being imperfectly exhibited, and many objects of interest with other material addenda of the institution not exhibited at all.[20]

The Society may have been hoping that if they continued to receive large numbers of donations they may be able to present a more convincing case for opening a new, larger museum. The proven popularity of overseas objects may have also driven them to carry on encouraging their donation, again because increased popularity of the Museum would give them a greater chance of expansion.

From the formation of the Society, financial considerations were always a problem; the annual reports indicate that in most years there was only enough income to balance outgoings. As the years progressed, more donations arrived and therefore more money had to be spent looking after the collections and housing them in glass cases. This culminated in a number of debts owing to unpaid bills. A financial crisis hit in 1830, followed by a second in the 1840s. Both of these predicaments were temporarily solved by loans, primarily from Society members, however, by 1849 they had an overall debt of £157 17s. 7d. (Browne 1946: 61). Further adding to these financial problems was the proposal in 1854 to buy new premises for the Society, the Bath Building. An offer of £950 was made and accepted in 1856 with the rule that the subscription library on the first floor would be left as it was. Some money was

[19] 40th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1862
[20] 42nd Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1864

raised for this move but still left the Society in debt (Browne 1946: 57-63). These financial problems must have taken their focus away from acquiring objects, especially the active encouragement for overseas donations which decreased over this period. Also, during this time the Whitby LPS was no longer only concentrating on the Museum, other activities such as a lecture series, were also given attention, taking focus away from the Museum and acquisitions opportunities.

A final factor possibly contributing to the drop in donations may have been a general decrease of interest in the Society after the initial excitement during its early years of formation. In the midst of this drop in donations, the Society had been running for over 30 years and some of the original members who had provided the energy and enthusiasm for the establishment of the Whitby LPS had died. Many of the original members of the Society were well-known men who had influential connections, such as the Rev. Dr Scoresby:[21]

> In the decease of Dr Scoresby the Scientific world has sustained no small misfortune. His fame may truly be said to be world-wide, for his well known arctic voyages, his discoveries in magnetism, and his ardour in scientific pursuits, have been the means of introducing him to the acquaintances of the learned men of all countries.[22]

This could have affected the number of objects received, these gentlemen using their connections to influence people to donate material to the Museum. Nonetheless, this drop of donations was not owing to the lack of effort by the newer members of the Society who did try to encourage more donations to be made. They even used the original members as shining examples of the success of the Society and Museum:

> let us then endeavour to increase and improve our collection, thankful to those enlightened men, who 30 years ago had zeal enough in the course of science to undertake its formation, leaving to us the comparatively easy task of preservation and addition.[23]

However, as time progressed, there was a small increase in the number of colonial accessions made by the Society.

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[21] Dr Rev William Scoresby (1789-1857) was an English arctic explorer and scientist. He made yearly voyages (1803-22) to Greenland, at first on his father's whaler and later as captain on other ships. Scoresby's several books on his arctic experiences helped lay the foundations of modern arctic geography (Browne 1946: 140-151).
[22] 30th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1852
[23] 30th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1852

5.2.3 Renewed interest (1870s): museum extension

The Whitby LPS experienced a small peak in colonial donations in the 1870s, but this is not significant compared to the first peak seen in the early years of the Society. During this period, there is no evidence of encouragement by the Society management for donations of colonial material, although during this time there was a new-found interest in the Society and Museum owing to an extension on the existing building. In the 1870s the wing on the south side was raised, followed by the wing on the north side a year later (Browne 1946: 57-63). Like the excitement exhibited at the initial formation of the Society, this may have been echoed, albeit on a much smaller scale.

Another possible explanation is that this peak is a subsidiary effect of the first peak. Whereas the first peak consisted mainly of donations collected by the donors themselves, this second peak may include donations made by the original collectors' relatives as the collectors themselves died. There is no evidence that this was the case, as no information was discovered on the donors of the 1870s. However, this did happen in the case of John Beecroft who himself donated in the early years, his family donating his remaining collection after his death. The fact that the majority of donors in this second peak tended to be women suggests that this could well be the case, as it seems that when women did make donations to museums, it was usually not their own collection but that of their deceased husband or other male members of the family.

5.2.4 John Beecroft

At this point, it is appropriate to look in depth at John Beecroft (FRGS) (1790-1854) as the contribution he made to the Whitby LPS Museum was one of the largest colonial donations they acquired. He provided the Whitby LPS with both natural history and ethnographic material, largely from the continent of Africa. His collection can be divided into five main accessions; those made in 1828, 1839, 1849, 1861 and 1872 (Table 5.2). The first three donations were made by John Beecroft himself. The donation in 1861 was made after Beecroft's death (1854) by a Mrs Beecroft who was presumably his wife (or sister) and Mrs Morgan her daughter. Even though the donation of 1872 was recorded under the name of Governor Beecroft, again, the actual donation was probably made by a relative. This donation may have marked the death of Mrs Beecroft, allowing the final parts of John Beecroft's collection to be bequeathed to the Museum.

Table 5.2 *Donations made to Whitby LPS by John Beecroft.*

Year	Donation	Location
1828	Large specimen of coral	Not known
	Backbone and jaw of shark	Not known
	Foreign bird	Not known
	Obsidian	Ascension Island
1839	Porcupine quill	Africa
	Pair of sandals	Fernando Po (an island off the West Coast of Africa now belonging to Equatorial Guinea)
	500 genera of shells	Fernando Po
	Two horns	Fernando Po
	Pair of boots	Fernando Po
	Five sets of bracelets and beads	Fernando Po
	Two caps	Fernando Po
	Belt	Fernando Po
	20 fruit specimens	Fernando Po
	Skins of quadrupeds	Fernando Po
	Charm	Fernando Po
1849	Three birds nests	African Coast
	Two skins of quadrupeds	Africa
	Chiefs feather hat	Africa
	Negro's belt	African Coast
	3 bottles containing serpents	Africa
1861	18 jars and bottles of snakes, Lizards and insects	Africa
	Skin of pangolin	Africa
	Two African gods	Africa
	Weaving frame	Dahomey
	Head mans robe	Niger
	Instruments of war	Africa
	Two pairs of bells	Dahomey/Abbeokuta
	Amazons trousers	Dahomey
	Amazons cap	Dahomey
	Arm ornament	Dahomey
	Leg ornaments	Dahomey
	African necklaces and other beadwork	Dahomey and Fernando Po
1861	Large collection of curiosities (23 Items)	Africa
	Young Amazon's coat	Dahomey
	Adze	Dahomey
1872	Carved wooden scoop	Dahomey
	Caboceers stool	Dahomey

Excluding the contents of the first donation of 1828 the remaining collection is entirely from the continent of Africa. This fits in perfectly with the life history of John Beecroft. His collection was personal, reflecting and marking the different stages in his career. Beecroft was born at Sleights near Whitby in 1790. He was quite an unusual man and important historic figure, gaining a significant place in West African history owing to the contributions he made

to modern Africa, laying down the foundations of British power in Nigeria. He started life as a sea-man and in 1844 he became governor on the Spanish island of Fernando Po (an island off the West Coast of Africa now belonging to Equatorial Guinea) before going on to become Consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra. He is well-known as a traveller and adventurer, occupations which could be attributed to him throughout his life. He also contributed to missionary expansion and education in modern Nigeria and is still remembered today, streets being named after him, as well as naval bases (Dike 1956). The life which Beecroft led suited that of collecting and acquiring objects in a number of respects.

Beecroft was brought up in the vicinity of Whitby, and like a large proportion of the donors of colonial material to the Whitby LPS, he started his life working at the port of Whitby on sea vessels, firstly as an apprentice and then as a Captain. He did not stay in Whitby for long; even so, he never forgot the connection which he had with the town. One of his first jobs was serving as an apprentice on a coasting vessel. During this time he was taken prisoner by a French privateer in 1805 not being released for 10 years. He then commanded a transport vessel in the Merchant Service, before volunteering to go on an expedition to Davis Straits (Dike 1956: 7). It was after this voyage that Beecroft made his first donation to the Whitby LPS. It can therefore be assumed that these specimens were collected whilst he was on this expedition. The first donation contained objects that were unrelated, which are best described as a selection of curiosities rather than a collection. This follows the composition of the donations made to the Whitby LPS by other ship captains (see section 5.2.1 and 5.3.2).

Following this expedition Beecroft volunteered to go to West Africa, landing on the Spanish island of Fernando Po in 1828. Fernando Po had been occupied (as a temporary settlement) by the British from 1827 to be used as a naval station for ships engaged in the suppression of the slave trade in the Bight of Biafra and Benin, as well as allowing Britain to protect their oil trade on the River Niger. In 1829 Beecroft was appointed as a Government official, Superintendent of the British Settlement of Fernando Po. This was the start of Beecroft's life in Africa. Beecroft helped to bring law and order to Fernando Po, winning the respect of the African community who inhabited the island, as well as those in the Niger Delta trading community. He was well known as a good leader and communicator, making good relations with a number of influential Africans in the surrounding areas, including rulers of Old Calabar. In 1834 Fernando Po was evacuated by the British Government but Beecroft stayed on as a merchant and explorer. The Africans however continued to treat Beecroft as a leader and he was recognised, albeit unofficially as the King of Fernando Po (Dike 1956: 8-9). During his time in Fernando Po he made a collection of ethnography and natural history. Through this description of his time spent in Fernando Po, it is obvious that he had contact with the locals and was respected by them. It is likely that a number of the objects/specimens he donated were gifts given to him by the people of Fernando Po, one way in which the local

people who he ruled over could show their respect. He was a well-respected man and the close relations that he had with the natives would have been advantageous when collecting artefacts.

In 1843 he was appointed as Governor of the island by the Spanish Government. However, he still had to earn a living, which he did through trade. During this period, which was one of discovery and imperial endeavour, he used a steamship, the *Ethiope* in scientific and commercial expeditions up the rivers of interior Africa (Figure 5.5).

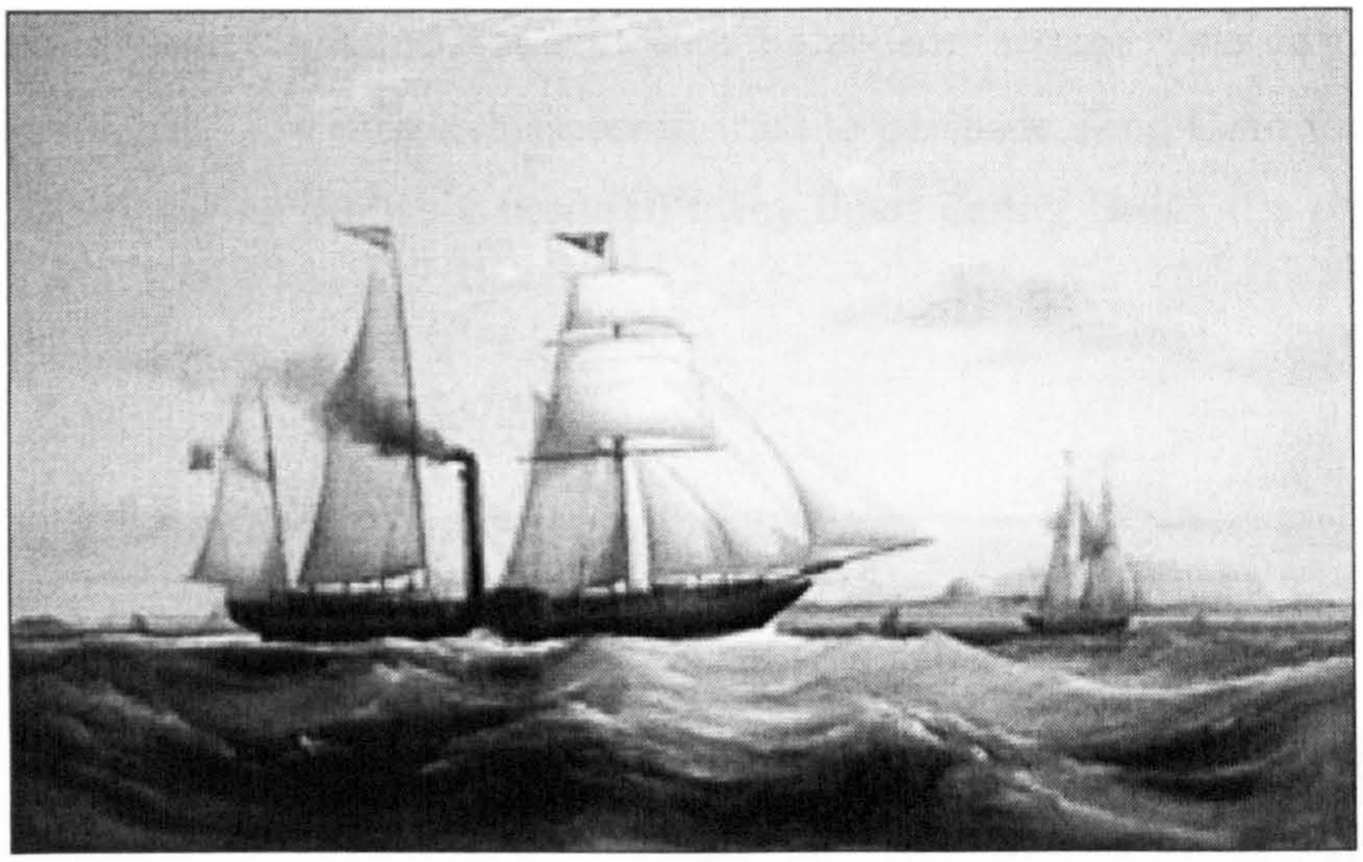

Figure 5.5 Painting by Samuel Walters (1811-1882) of the Paddle Steamer *Ethiope* off the West Coast of Africa (National Museums Liverpool 2005b).

Whilst carrying out these expeditions Beecroft gathered knowledge about the Niger interior revealing, amongst other things, their commercial potential. His first expedition was in the *Quorra* in 1835, and covered 300 miles. This was followed by an expedition in 1836 on the Cross River, and in 1840 the Benin River, more expeditions up the Cross River occurring in 1841 and 1842 (Allen 1848; Dike 1956 10-11). The knowledge of the African interior which Beecroft gained was utilised by others. Anyone who was planning any sort or enterprise, for example missionaries and leaders of expeditions would seek out Beecroft's advice first, and even the Navy made use of his knowledge, employing him as negotiator/diplomat with the native people (Dike 1956: 12). It is possible that during these expeditions he built up his collection of natural history specimens.

In addition to ethnographic material, the natural history collections donated by Beecroft are quite extensive. These included 18 jars and bottles of snakes, insects and lizards and 500 genera of shells. Beecroft, although not known as a naturalist, did write at least one scientific publication and the natural history material he donated to the Society suggests that

he was a competent naturalist. In addition, he also had two animals named after him by Louis Fraser, who was vice-consul of Bights of Benin and Biafra, Beecroft's tree hyrax (*Dendrohyrax dorsalis*; the name by which it is still referred to today) and Beecroft's scaly-tailed flying squirrel (*Anomalurus beecrofti*).

In the final phase of Beecroft's life in Africa he was appointed as the first of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra (1849). During this period of his life he met a number of important people and achieved a great deal; he visited Gezo, King of Dahomey, completed two goodwill missions to England, as well as meeting a number of Kings of the Niger Delta. These meetings also contributed to his collections, for example, King Gezo presented Beecroft with a Caboceer's stool[24] and cushion (Figure 5.6) during a meting in 1850 in which Beecroft tried to persuade King Gezo to renounce the slave trade. This situation probably occurred many times during Beecroft's political career (Dike 1956: 13).

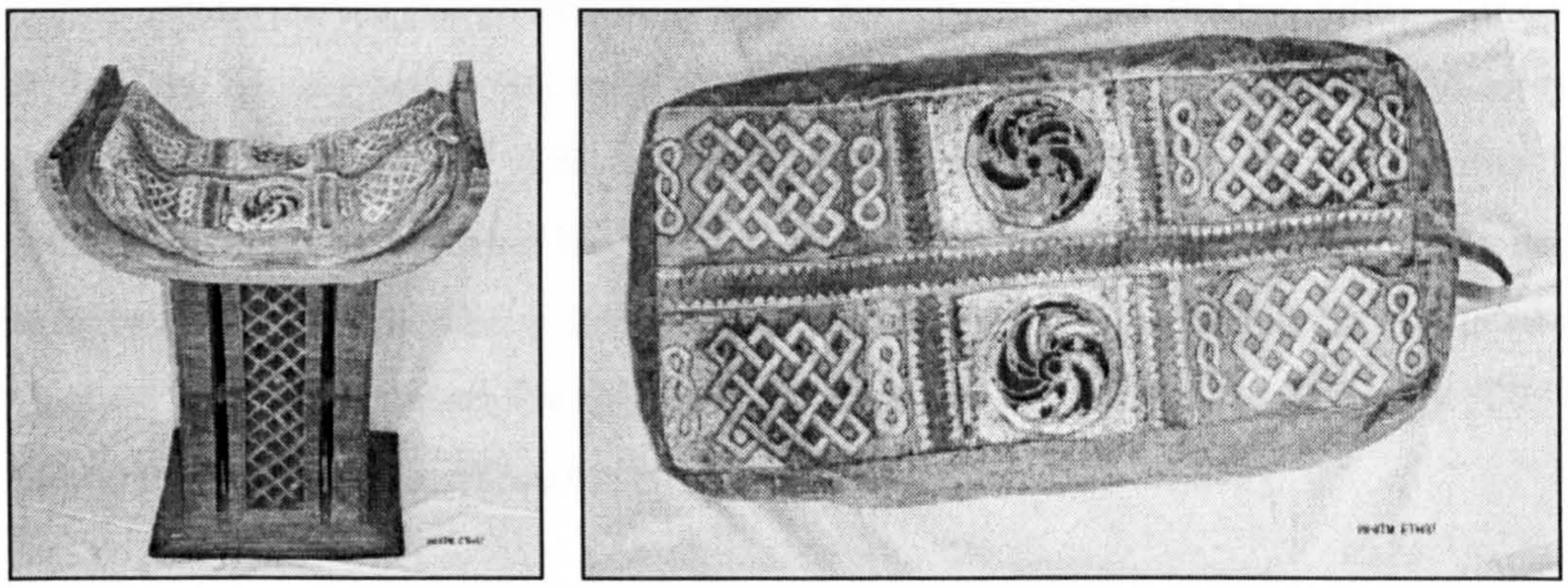

Figure 5.6 Caboceer's stool and cushion presented to John Beecroft by the King of Dahomey, now on display at Whitby Museum.

5.2.5 Change of direction (1880-1914): local material

From 1880 to 1914 the number of colonial donations received by the Society was very small and often non-existent, some years receiving none at all. Evidence for the encouragement of colonial/foreign material, such as that discovered in the early annual reports, was absent. Interests in particular types of collection were changing, the initial years which saw the Department of Miscellaneous Curiosities as the most popular department had gone. Interest was now firmly focussed on local collections. As early as the annual report of 1871 it was advised that the Museum should concentrate on articles of local matter:

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[24] A Caboceer is the headman of a West African village or tribe.

> To form the Collection of a nature as local as possible is a right commendation; it being observed, that as the smaller museums are not able to vie with the larger in a general sense, they should excel them in those matters of interest for which their respective neighbourhoods are quoted and famed.[25]

This statement confirms that by collecting specimens which would give the Museum a global perspective, they were emulating larger museums (which would include national museums). However, they realised that in the case of foreign accessions this was no longer possible. Instead they decided to concentrate on local collections, an area in which they could achieve an even higher standard than larger museums, such as the nationals. This is reflected by a change in accessions made during the latter years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century. Although the occasional colonial donation was received, for example a duck billed platypus from H. Power in 1914, donations of a local nature were much more prevalent.

Again during this period money was a worry. Sadly, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Society had to sell many of its treasures including some of the Beecroft collection to increase their capital.[26] This is another sign that the days when the Whitby LPS saw colonial material as valuable had ceased. There was also the added anxiety of a drop in the number of Society members. From 36 members in its first year, increasing to 89 in 1839, numbers slowly decreased from 80 on the Society's 21st birthday, to 59 on its 50th birthday, and in 1886 the number of members was only 42 (Browne 1946: 177).

5.3 The influence of the position of Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society

A recurring theme in this chapter is the importance of the men associated with maritime ventures in supplying the Whitby LPS with colonial material. It is imperative therefore that the industries associated with the port of Whitby, especially those connected with the colonies are examined in depth as they may have provided opportunities for locals to travel and collect, therefore affecting the flow of colonial acquisitions. By examining various aspects of the port such as tonnage (the total shipping of a port, figured in tons, with reference to carrying capacity) received and the employment of both people and ships throughout the nineteenth century, its relationship with the incoming flow of colonial material will be assessed.

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[25] Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1871, cited in Browne (1946: 171).
[26] 104th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society

5.3.1 The port of Whitby

Whitby was a port town with shipping as its principal industry. Despite its isolated position on the edge of the North York Moors, Whitby proved successful as a port throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Firstly, it is necessary to illustrate the importance of Whitby's position on a port during the nineteenth century. The success of the port grew from the eighteenth century, at the beginning of which (1710-1720) there was only one shipyard, but by the early nineteenth century this number had grown to 13. The same advance can be seen in the number of ships built, from only a few vessels a week to over 30 a week in 1802 and 1803. One of the reasons for Whitby's success was the versatility of the high quality boats produced, which could be employed for numerous uses (Jones 1982: 39). A good example of this versatility is the *Endeavour*. This was built in Whitby with the original intention of being used as a collier, however, instead it was used for one of the most famous colonial voyages of exploration; that of Captain James Cook's[27] voyage to Australia (*ibid.*: 22).

By the nineteenth century, Whitby was firmly established as a successful port, an impression of which can be gathered by reading the local Whitby directory of 1823:

> Whitby in a commercial view claims a superior rank among the minor ports, and as far as the opulence of her merchants and the extent of her ship building establishments are concerned, she has some fair pretensions to aspire to the major class.[28]

The main industrial ventures of the town during this period were associated with the port. By the 1820s Whitby had a number of ship building firms, seven in total and also three boat building firms. Linked with the direct shipping industry were other industries such as rope, linen and sailcloth manufacture as well as working of alum and whaling. Whitby hosted seven linen manufacturers, three sailcloth manufacturers, six makers of rope and twine and six firms engaged in the alum industry employing 600 workpeople.[29] This clearly highlights the economic dependency which Whitby had on the port and its associated activities. This continued to be the case throughout the nineteenth century. The magnitude of shipping in Whitby is further illustrated by the 71 ship owners, 12 pilots and 37 master mariners (captains of merchant ships) inhabiting Whitby at this time (Browne 1946: 8). Whitby had a population

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[27] Captain James Cook (1728-1779), is renowned as an explorer, pioneering navigator and preventer of scurvy. He led the voyage of the *Endeavour* (1768-71) which culminated in the colonisation of Australia (Andrew 2004).
[28] Local Whitby Directory (Baines' Directory) 1823
[29] Local Whitby Directory (Baines' Directory) 1823

with close associations with the sea, either directly or indirectly, through which many would have gained links with foreign countries. For example, Whitby was the home of one of the most famous British sea captains, Captain James Cook, who worked there as an apprentice seaman in his early years.

It could be hypothesised that Whitby's coastal location did influence the acquisition of colonial material experienced by Whitby LPS Museum. The port would give the town direct connections with British colonies through the ships and people travelling on them, leaving and entering Whitby, both to and from foreign destinations. However, the extent that this influenced Whitby's colonial acquisition flow, or indeed if it influenced it at all, is not known and needs further investigation. For example, is there evidence that Whitby vessels were employed to sail to British colonies? If so, this would ultimately influence the arrival of colonial goods as the routes upon which they were employed would have dictated where the ships travelled and therefore the direct access they had to the colonies.

5.3.2 Employment of Whitby ships

Jones' (1982) work on the history of the port and shipping industry of Whitby has proved an invaluable tool when looking at the activities of the port during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the ships of Whitby were mainly employed in the coal trade, before venturing out into the Baltic and foreign trade. By the end of the century there was a change in direction; ships were employed in the whaling trade and the transport service during the American War of Independence and later, the Napoleonic wars, which brought much prosperity to the port. The period with which this chapter is most concerned is the nineteenth century, during which the majority of Whitby-owned vessels were employed in short sea voyages, including coasting, although a number of Whitby ships were employed to make voyages much further afield, as will be discussed (Jones 1982: 99-120). During the nineteenth century, the main trades which involved Whitby ships were the coal trade, the Northern Whale fishery, Government transport, the Baltic trade and the transportation of emigrants (*ibid.*: 2).

A number of Whitby vessels were hired by the government to carry emigrants to the British colony of Australia. The *John Barry*, which was built and owned by Robert Barry (who lived in Whitby) was employed by the Government to carry out these voyages and was paid high freights to do so; in total £2554 10s for less than four months voyaging, a highly profitable trip. As well as transporting emigrants, Whitby vessels were also employed to transport convicts to Australia. Out of the 419 voyages which carryied convicts to New South Wales, 37 Whitby-built vessels were employed. Most of these made single voyages, but a

number made more than one. Whitby ships were especially suited for this type of transport as their ships were large enough to carry the number of convicts needed to justify the long voyage. However, this was a short term trade of the early nineteenth century, with only a very small number of Whitby ships were employed after 1850 (during this time the coal and coasting trades were dominant) (Jones 1982: 367). This pattern of activity correlates with the Australian collections received by Whitby LPS (Figure 5.7), the majority of which were acquired at the beginning of the century; the period during which many Whitby ships were employed to transport people to Australia.

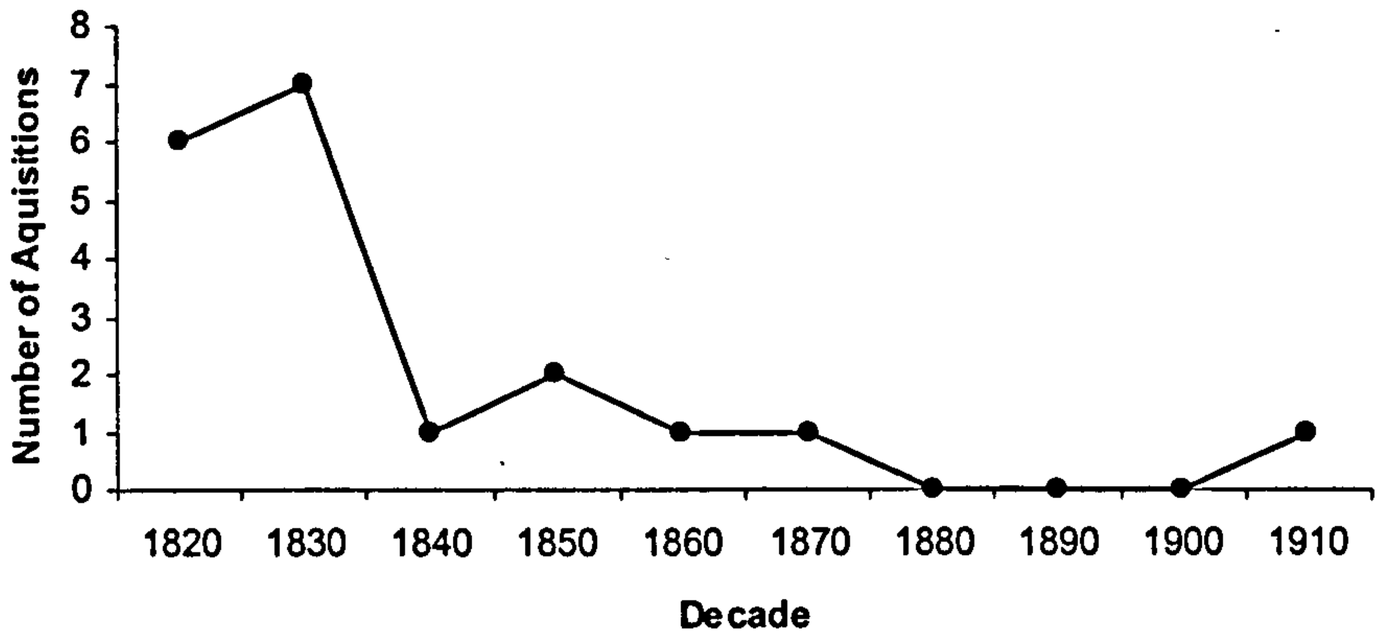

Figure 5.7 Australian acquisitions (natural history and ethnography) made by the Whitby LPS from 1823 to 1914.

It is possible to identify some early donors of Australian material as employees of this trade. Captain William Ascough made three separate donations to the Whitby LPS which were all made during the first major peak in colonial donations (during the 1820s and 1830s). Ascough donated a parrot from Batavia in 1826, a Burmese towel, a richly embroidered Chinese petticoat and a Chinese lady's head dress in 1827. The final donation was made in 1833 and consisted of 11 arrows from New South Wales, a tropical bird and a 'long and handsome spear with barbs'.[30] The latter donation was the only one which contained more than three objects from the same genre. The majority of his donations could be described as curiosities. These donations were actually made under the name of Mrs Ascough, the wife of the Captain, but it is almost certain that Captain Ascough was the collector of these objects. It is clear that Captain Ascough had many opportunities to collect in Australia. As a maritime captain he completed ten trips to Australia between 1821 and 1835. This is quite an awesome task, the journey taking around 4 to 6 months each way. Table 5.3 details the voyages he made as a Captain transporting convicts to Australia and/or Tasmania.

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[30] 11th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1833.

Table 5.3 *Voyages (transporting convicts) made to Australia by Captain William Ascough (Bateson 1969: 338-357).*

Ship	Departure	Date	Arrival	Date	Onward
Malabar (1)	Spithead	17/6/1819	New South Wales	30/10/1819	Bound for Batavia and Calcutta
Malabar (2)	Gravesend	22/6/1821	Tasmania	21/10/1821	Sydney 19/11/1821
Competitor (1)	England	18/3/1823	Tasmania	3/8/1823	Sydney 30/8/1823
Ann and Amelia	Cork	8/9/1824	New South Wales	2/1/1825	
Marquis of Huckley (1)	Sheerness	16/5/1826	New South Wales	13/9/1826	
Marquis of Huckley (2)	Cork	27/9/1827	New South Wales	30/1/1828	
Marquis of Huckley (3)	Sheerness	9/4/1830	New South Wales	21/08/1830	
Portland (1)	Portsmouth	27/11/1831	New South Wales	26/3/1832	
Portland (2)	Cork	21/2/1833	New South Wales	26/6/1833	
Mary III	London	16/4/1835	New South Wales	6/9/1835	

In addition to the destinations tabulated above, other short stops were also made during the voyage. This may inform us as to how some of the other objects donated were acquired, for example the Batavian parrot. The first voyage of the *Malabar* to Sydney in 1819 was actually bound to Batavia, a port in Indonesia. This would have given Ascough the opportunity to collect the parrot whilst stopping there. This explanation could be offered for the other objects he donated such as those of Chinese provenance. Captain Dixon was another sailor who donated an Australian specimen to the Society in its early years. He donated just one duck billed platypus from Australia in 1825. It is known that Captain F. Dixon sailed on the *Regalia* to Australia in 1819 transporting convicts (Bateson 1969: 338-357) and it is therefore highly probable that he took this opportunity to collect the curiosity.

Captain Stephenson Ellerby's donations, made in 1831 and 1832, consisting of a great variety of objects and specimens, both natural (two flying opossums) and artificial (weapons) (Table 5.4), were collected under similar circumstances. When examining Ellerby's shipping history, the voyages he made fit in with the provenance of objects/specimens he donated.

Table 5.4 *Donations made to Whitby LPS by Captain Stephenson Ellerby.*

Year	Donation	Location	Ship
1831	Club	Unknown	Lady Faversham (Feversham)
1831	Spear	Unknown	Lady Faversham
1831	Three patoos	New Zealand	Lady Faversham
1831	Tooth from a sperm whale	Unknown	Lady Faversham
1832	Two remora specimens (fish)	Indian Malagar	Lady Faversham
1832	Frilled lizard	Australia	Not known
1832	Two flying opossums	Australia	Not known
1832	Indian palanquin and bearers	India	Not known

It is known that he was a Master on two voyages to Australia, both of which were used to carry convicts. The first was in 1819 on the *John Barry* and the second was on the *Lady Faversham* which set sail from Portsmouth on 8th April 1830 and landed in New South Wales on 29th July 1830, a journey of 112 days (Bateson 1969: 338-357; see Table 5.5). A number of these specimens/objects were collected whilst Ellerby was aboard the *Lady Faversham*. This ship was built in 1826, in Whitby, by a local shipbuilding firm the Barry's.[31] Ellerby married a Miss Anne Barry in 1779 who was a member of the family of the Barry shipbuilding company. It is highly probable that this connection was advantageous and put Ellerby first in line when new ships were built, as seems to be the case when he was appointed Master of the *Lady Faversham* and the *John Barry*. The specimens which have been identified as Australian were no doubt collected on one of these voyages. Unfortunately the provenance of a number of these donations is unknown (a common problem encountered with donations made by sailors); however, his donations definitely did include objects and specimens from Australia, India and New Zealand. There are no obvious connections between these objects/specimens, although the ethnographic material is mostly made up of weapons. The best way to describe his donations would again be a mixture of opportunistic curios, like those donated by Captain Aldridge and Captain Smith, rather than a systematic collection.

Table 5.5 *Details of known voyages made by Captain Stephenson Ellerby (Bateson 1969: 338-357)*

Ship	Departure	Date	Arrival	Date	Onward
Britannia	Not known	1788	Not known	Not known	Not known
John Barry	Portsmouth	30/4/1819	New South Wales	26/9/1819	Calcutta
Lady Faversham	Portsmouth	8/4/1830	New South Wales	29/7/1830	Not known

[31] *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping*

Ellerby also donated Indian objects/specimens; a fish, palanquin and bearers. These could possibly have been collected on the voyage of the *John Barry* in 1819 which included an onward journey to Calcutta. The donations made by Ellerby were valuable to the Society as is illustrated by the honorary membership he received in 1831.

Whitby's connection with Australia via the transportation trade only helps to explain the early peak in Australian donations; it does not necessarily explain the peaks in Indian and African donations which all occurred at the same time in the 1820s and 1830s. Investigation of more general activities and trends of the port of Whitby throughout the nineteenth century may help clarify the situation further. However, it is worth mentioning that many Whitby owned transportation ships returned home via China or India to pick up a return cargo, which could help to explain the peak in Indian accessions (Figure 5.8), a number of which were donated by sea captains. For example, in 1829 Captain W. Jameson donated eight shells from India and Captain W. Terry donated an Indian pipe and fan.

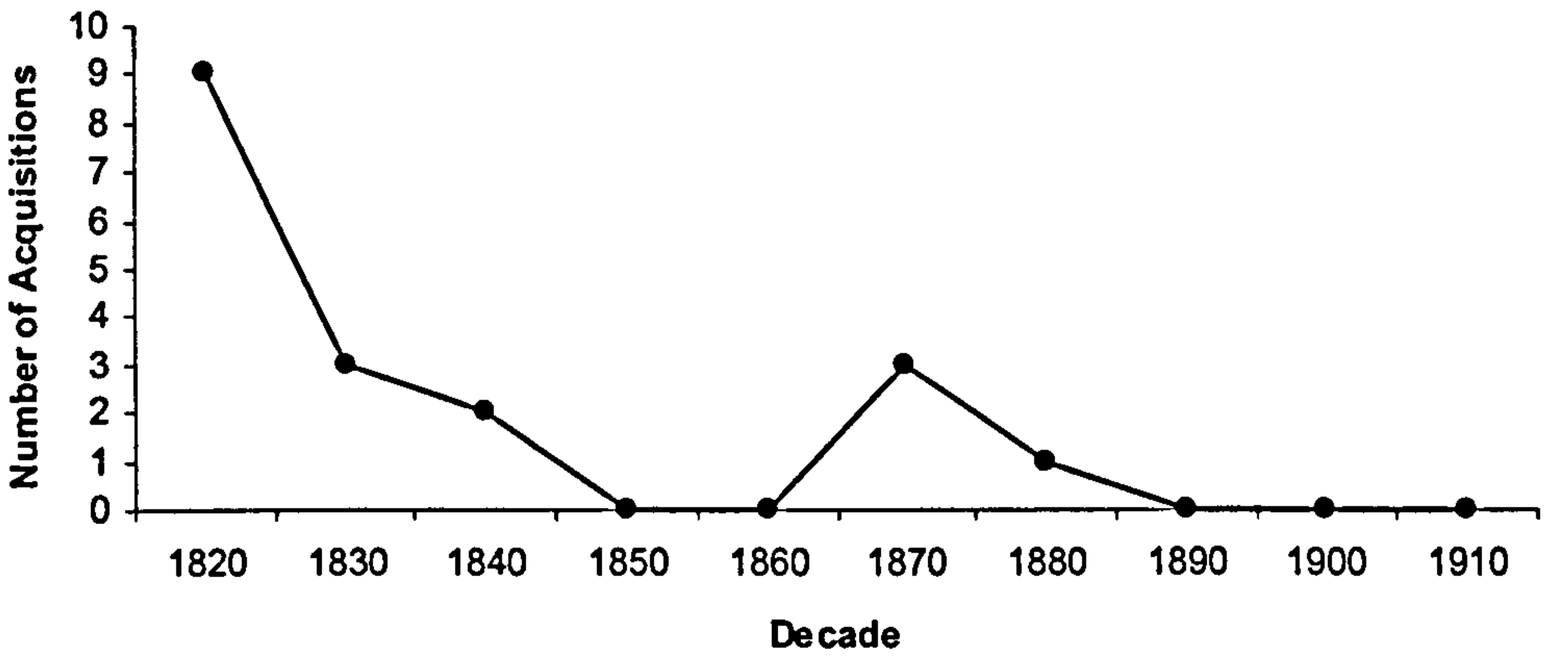

Figure 5.8 Indian acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) made by the Whitby LPS from 1823 to 1914.

5.3.3 General trends in Whitby shipping in the nineteenth century

The beginning of the century was a prosperous period for Whitby, principally through the use of Whitby ships by the transport board (for example, to transport convicts to Australia). They were also profiting from the need for war ships during the Napoleonic wars. However, subsequent to this, the trend around Britain was the decline in wooden shipbuilding. This affected Whitby quite badly. In the 1830s and 1840s a number of people including Robert Barry, owner of one of the large ship building firms in Whitby, complained about the shipping decline at the Select Committee on British Shipping in 1844. Despite these complaints the figures indicate tonnage at the port was still high; the tonnage of wooden

sailing ships registered at the port peaking in 1866 (Jones 1982: 99-120). The boom in the shipping industry seen at the beginning of the century could have been responsible for the first peak of colonial donations, because of increased communication and prosperity. People would have collected during this period and then donated to the Museum when it opened, such as the example used earlier of Captain Dixon. However, Robert Barry's claim of a decline in shipping is difficult to relate to the early pattern of colonial donations.

The next major episode in Whitby's shipping history was the advent of steam ships. The building of wooden sailing ships stood still in the late 1860s as steamships came into favour. The people of Whitby were slow to take up the new technology, with a failure to invest in sailing tonnage, and it was not until the 1880s that a large scale venture into steam tonnage was made (*ibid.*: 119). The consequence was a period of 25 years which it took for Whitby to equal her previous peak in sailing tonnage. This lag period does not seem to correlate with the flow of colonial acquisitions; the decade of 1870 revealing a small and significant peak in colonial acquisitions.

Following this, despite the decline of the sailing ship, shipping remained the staple industry of Whitby, reaching its climax in the 1880s and 1890s with the building and ownership of many large steamships. Domination by the building and owning of wooden sailing ships had ended; the port was now a place of construction and registry of a considerable fleet of large steamships (*ibid.*: 121-177). This again does not correlate with colonial acquisitions, which at this point were very low. At the end of the century, the majority of Whitby steamers were trading exclusively in the foreign and Baltic trades; by 1873 the steamers' most regular voyages were the Baltic, the Black Sea, Germany and India (*ibid.*: 206). Even so, there is no corresponding increase in the number of colonial objects received from India at this time which may have been expected if the flow of colonial acquisitions was directly related to access which the port of Whitby gave to this British colony.

On the whole, the general trends in the shipping industry at Whitby do not fully explain the patterns in colonial acquisition flow, possibly indicating that other factors were more influential. However, it should be remembered that these are only general trends occurring at the port and may not directly reflect Whitby's connections with the British colonies. It is therefore necessary to look more closely at Whitby's colonial and foreign shipping trade.

5.3.4 Colonial and foreign shipping at the port of Whitby

Jones (1982: 218) has identified the percentage of intended foreign voyages made by Whitby

vessels in the nineteenth century. Although these would not exclusively be colonial voyages, it gives a good indication of the long-haul voyages made. At the beginning of the century (1814) both the number and tonnage of vessels entering the port were high, foreign tonnage equalling 45% of all intended voyages. However, by 1850 this had dropped rapidly to 23%, the bulk of Whitby shipping at this time was primarily concerned with short sea trading on the British coast and in the Baltic. In 1870 yet another change occurred, the number and tonnage of vessels sailing to foreign lands rising to 50%. Although the percentage of intended foreign voyages is higher at the end of the century than the beginning of the century, the overall tonnage was much lower (12,515 tons, compared to 36,251 tons at the beginning of the nineteenth century). These figures, although not giving specific detail of each decade, do correlate well with the flow of colonial acquisitions which were high at the beginning of the century, low in the mid-century and peaking again at the end of the century, although not to the same extent as the initial peak.

Figure 5.9 gives a more detailed indication of the foreign and colonial trade which Whitby engaged in over the nineteenth century. The tonnage of sailing ships and steamers clearing from Whitby in the foreign and colonial trades from 1841 to 1913 exhibits a bimodal pattern, peaks in tonnage occurring in the 1840s and 1890s, with the period in between (1850-1890) showing a small but constant amount of tonnage clearing Whitby. Although the overall bimodal shape of the graph is the same as that of colonial acquisitions, it is slightly shifted to the right. Therefore, the tonnage of ships clearing from Whitby in the foreign and colonial trade does not follow that of the flow of acquisitions, seemingly suggesting that this was not a major influence on acquisition flow. It should be noted though that this graph only expresses tonnage and not the numbers of ships (clearing from Whitby in the foreign and colonial trades). This is important as although tonnage entering the port rose in the 1840s and 1890s, this may not be due to an increased number of ships entering from these destinations, but simply bigger ships, such as steamships, which could hold more cargo. For example, at the beginning of the century (1808-1838), although foreign trade was most important in terms of tonnage it was not in terms of the number of ships employed. This is especially significant in this analysis as one of the most important factors influencing the amount of contact by Whitby to the colonies would be expressed through the number of voyages made, which is not directly articulated through tonnage.

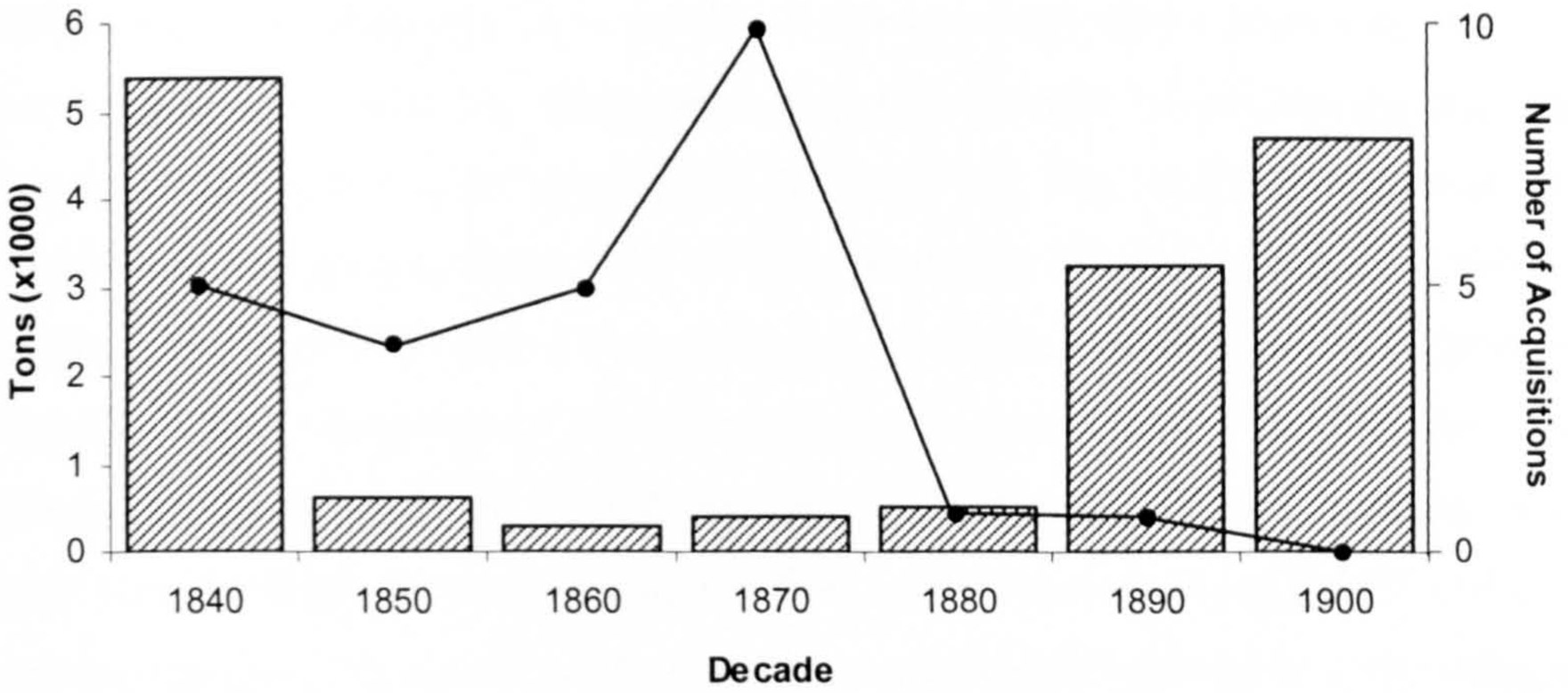

Figure 5.9 Tonnage of sailing vessels and steamers clearing from Whitby in the foreign and colonial trades, 1841-1913 (bars) (adapted from Jones 1982: 242), with the colonial acquisitions per decade superimposed (points) (see Figure 5.1).

5.3.5 The people and the port

The evidence presented so far has not been able to show a clear correlation between colonial donations and port activities. However, it has shown that the port gave people of Whitby direct contact with British colonies and the opportunity to gather specimens or objects from these places and donate them to the Museum. The gentlemen of the town made up a proportion of Society members, many were on the Council and therefore influenced the activities of the Society, including the type of acquisitions made (many of them donating to the Society themselves). It is important therefore to consider the gentlemen's role within the port and shipping industry of Whitby.

The typical Whitby ship-owner was either a mariner, or worked in the town's shipyard in a senior capacity, having worked his way up. People holding more senior positions such as ship owner and master mariner would have almost certainly mixed with the gentlemen of the town. Therefore the gentlemen on the Committee of the Whitby LPS may have had the opportunity to influence mariners to collect whilst overseas or indeed to encourage them to donate the collections or curiosities which they already possessed. There seemed to be a common transition in the occupation of ship-owners at Whitby from merchants to gentleman (Jones 1982: 72). These new gentlemen would be in the perfect position to influence people to bring back colonial goods, as their history in the shipping industry would have given them connections with many seafaring men such as ship captains. This could have been an important factor in the flow of colonial acquisitions to Whitby as a high percentage of donations (39%) were made by Whitby sea captains.

As the century progressed there was a decline in the number of maritime occupations engaged in by the people of Whitby (Jones 1982: 437). The personalities who dominated the

Whitby shipbuilding industry in the late 1700s and early 1800s passed on their business to the next generation, most of whom had abandoned these businesses by the mid-nineteenth century (*ibid.*: 106). This was caused firstly by the ship building recession suffered in the 1830s and the fall in registration of wooden sailing ships from the late 1860s. Steam was much more costly to invest in, which led to a concentration in investment with a small number of large ship owners and fewer master mariners (*ibid.*: 438, 462). Overall this led to a decline in master mariners over the century, following the pattern of colonial donations which also fell. It should be noted that in the early years a large percentage of donors were actually master mariners (many more may have been connected with them or the shipping industry), so the drop in their number may well have affected the number of colonial donations made.

5.4 Conclusions

The Whitby LPS received colonial donations throughout the nineteenth century, the majority of which were donated by the local community. The flow of this material was not steady throughout, but experienced a number of peaks and troughs (Figure 5.1). This chapter has revealed that factors both at the level of the Society (decisions made by those in charge of the Society and the changing prosperity of the Society) and the town itself (the connections which the port gave to the colonies) influenced the flow of colonial acquisitions to the Whitby LPS.

On its establishment, the proposed mission and aims of the Whitby LPS, made it clear that they wished to receive a variety of material to furnish their Museum, including material of a colonial provenance. The Committee encouraged the acquisition of colonial material, in some cases at the expense of local material. This material proved very valuable, attracting visitors (both the curious and those interested in science), therefore raising the status of the Museum; possibly a reason why the Society encouraged its acquisition (for further discussion of the role colonial material played in entertaining and educating see sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2). The obvious source of this material was from the maritime community of Whitby, which the Society tried to exploit, actively encouraging them to donate material to the Whitby LPS. This paid off, as was illustrated by a peak in colonial acquisitions, a large majority of which were donated by sea captains. This is in comparison to the end of the nineteenth century when the Society discouraged the donation of foreign material (see section 5.2.5). There was a clear change in direction the Society preferring to give a local rather than universal focus, encouraging the acquisition of local material; at this point colonial donations were at an all time low level (for further discussion on local versus universal collection debate see section 9.2.5). This illustrates the power of the decision makers of the Society in determining what material the museum would receive.

The flow of colonial material follows the changing prosperity of the Society. For example, when the Whitby LPS was experiencing financial difficulties the number of colonial acquisitions was low. This would almost certainly have drawn the attention of the museum decision makers away from the acquisition of material. In opposition, the opening of a new building often associated with attention and publicity would probably have encouraged people to donate, indeed donations would have been encouraged in order to fill the new space and attract visitors.

Although the Society did receive colonial material throughout the period examined, the number of colonial acquisitions was never significantly high. When the flow of colonial acquisition is compared to the flow of *all* acquisitions, it is clear that the number of colonial acquisitions is not significant (Figure 5.10).

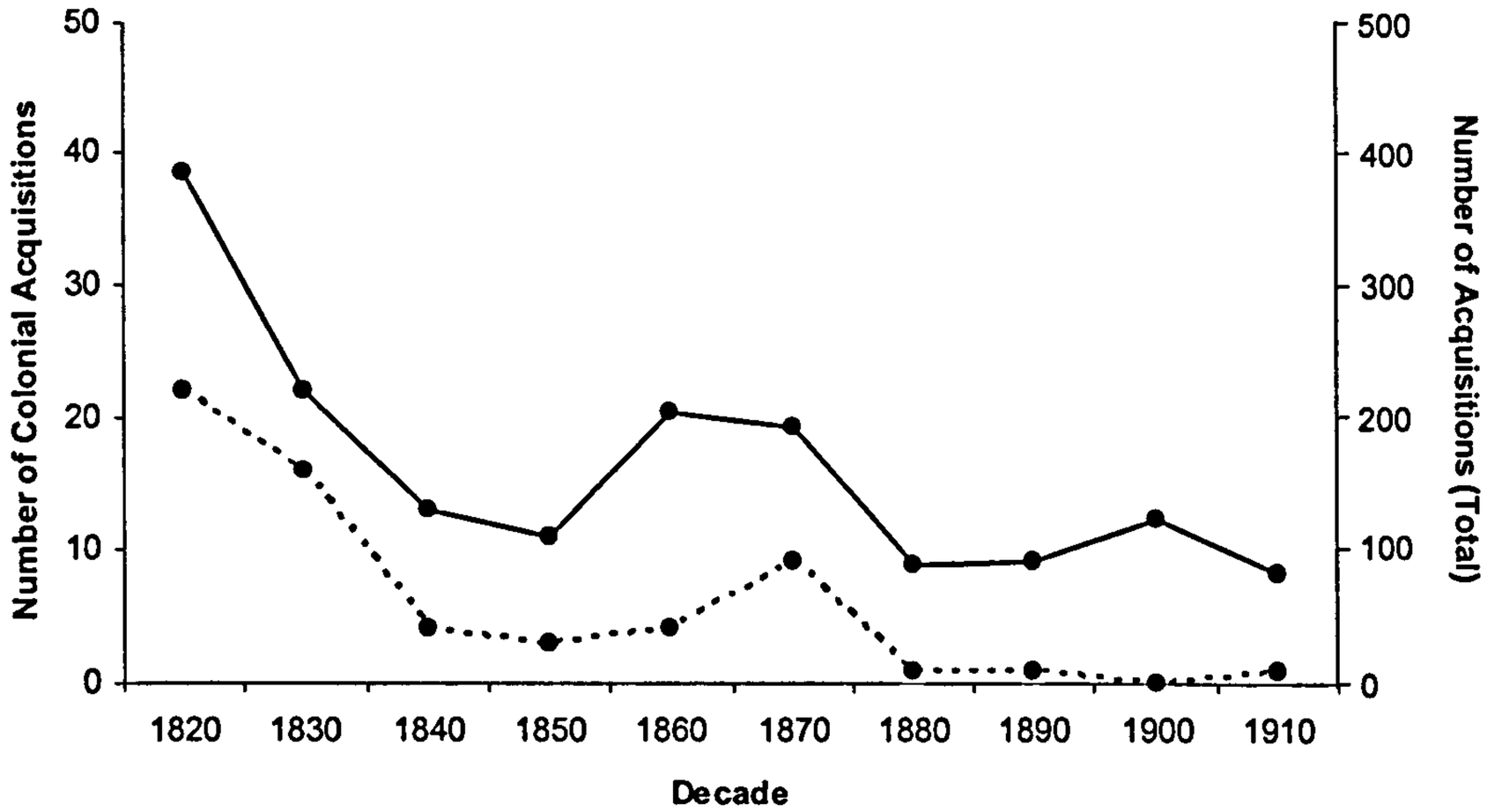

Figure 5.10 Comparison of the acquisition of colonial (dashed line) and all material (solid line) to the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, from 1823 to 1914.

As both patterns of colonial acquisitions and total acquisitions reveal the same peaks and troughs, it suggests that whatever was driving the flow of general acquisitions also drove colonial acquisition flow. There is no doubt that acquisition flow would have been influenced by events occurring at the level of the Society, for example decisions made by the management as previously described. This therefore acts as further evidence confirming that internal factors (e.g. finances) occurring within the Museum influenced colonial acquisition flow (for additional discussion on how internal factors influenced the flow of colonial material see section 9.1.1). This however is in no way conclusive verification that internal factors were the only factors involved in the rise and fall experienced by colonial acquisitions,

but simply offers one explanation.

When examining the flow of colonial acquisitions, the position of Whitby Museum on a port cannot be ignored. Although it has been suggested that factors internal to the Whitby LPS were the driving force behind colonial acquisitions, the position of the Society on a port undoubtedly influenced the availability of colonial material (for further discussion on the influence of ports on the flow of colonial material see section 9.1.3). This is confirmed early in the Society's history; sea captains making up a prominent proportion of colonial donors. Sea captains may have been eager to donate to the Society owing to the advantages this presented. The Committee of the Whitby LPS consisted of middle-class gentlemen who were well-respected members of the community, including ship-owners. Ship captains would be keen to impress ship-owners (possibly by donating material to the Society), as they could reward them by employing them to sail their ships (for further discussion of the advantages of donating colonial material see section 9.3.2).

It has been illustrated that through the shipping industry Whitby gained direct connections with British colonies, for example a number of Whitby ships were employed to transport convicts and emigrants to Australia. These connections allowed the people of Whitby, especially captains who sailed ships to these colonies, to collect material on these voyages and then donate to the Society on their return. There is also evidence that as the number of colonial donations dropped, there was a corresponding drop in the number of people employed in the maritime industry in Whitby, again highlighting their importance as suppliers of colonial material. However, the extent of the influence of port activities on the flow of colonial material to the Society is negotiable. An examination of the changing patterns in the colonial shipping industry and more specifically, the tonnage of ships clearing from Whitby in foreign and colonial trades, does not demonstrate a clear correlation between the two. The only correlations visible are at the beginning of the century when the port of Whitby was prosperous, and the tonnage of ships clearing from Whitby in foreign and colonial trades was high, as was the number of colonial accessions. For the remainder of the century it is difficult to find any correlation in the shipping industry and the flow of colonial acquisitions experienced by the Society. Although Whitby was a port town, it was not on the same scale as Liverpool or even Newcastle and its connections to colonies were limited by the fact that throughout the nineteenth century most Whitby-owned vessels were employed in short sea voyages.

Although the drop in colonial acquisitions at the end of the century has been attributed to the decision of the Society to concentrate on local material, it can also be related to the influence of the port. The majority of colonial material donated by sea captains in the early years consisted of single or a very small number of objects/specimens, often ethnographic. If donations were composed of more than one object, the objects often had no

connection with each other, in some cases they were even collected in different countries. The material collected by sea captains was almost definitely collected as souvenirs whilst they were out on voyage, rather than systematic collections. This seemed to be the case for the majority of colonial donations made to the Society, not only those made by sea captains. This left the Museum with a mismatch of curiosities, rather than series of complete collections which they could build on, which although attractive during the early years (owing to its ability to attract visitors) was difficult to incorporate into the museum's role as an educational institution which gained considerable attention as the years progressed (for further discussions of the use of colonial material as an educator see section 9.2.1). It would take less effort for the Society to acquire a comprehensive collection of local material than colonial material. In addition, they realised that they could never compete with larger museums in terms of colonial material (see section 9.2.4 for further discussion of provincial museum emulating national museums in terms of colonial acquisitions), and so the emphasis shifted almost exclusively to local acquisitions. It should not be forgotten that throughout its history one of the functions of Whitby LPS was to preserve local material for the benefit of the Whitby community, especially fossils which were abundant in the nearby cliffs.

The influence of the port industry cannot be examined in isolation from events occurring at the level of Empire, as they were related. For example, a number of Australian donations received by the Society at the beginning of the century were made by sea captains, as a result of Australia being used as a penal colony. The sea captains had the opportunity to collect material in Australia as they were leading ships which were transporting convicts to the country.

Evidently both internal factors within the Society and local factors played a part in the arrival of colonial acquisitions to the Whitby LPS. It is difficult to conclude if one of these factors was more influential than the other. It does seem however that although both affected the general acquisition of colonial material, it was internal factors which influenced the actual flow of this material. As a large majority of colonial donations were from the sea-faring community, it is evident that without its location on a port, the Museum would have had a much smaller source of people within the community to call upon for this type of material (cf. Saffron Walden NHS [see chapter 4], which lacked such direct contact with the colonies yet still managed to acquire colonial material by targeting specific individuals whom they knew to have colonial connections). However, without the Society's want and encouragement for this material, even with its ready availability, it may not have been accepted or donated. This suggests that it was internal events within the Society which drove the flow of colonial material (see section 9.1.1 and 9.1.2 for a further discussion of internal factors affecting the flow of colonial material). For example, when the focus of the Museum changed at the end of the century to concentrate on objects and specimens of a local nature, colonial donations

received by the Society were very low, even though voyages were being made from Whitby to the colonies (therefore there was access to the colonies and therefore the possibility of making colonial collections). The importance of internal factors over the location of the Museum on a port is echoed by the fact that patterns in colonial accessions followed the trends of general acquisitions made by the Society. In addition, the specific patterns in the shipping industry, especially the foreign and colonial trades, did not correlate with the incoming flow of acquisitions.

6 Liverpool Museum

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The formation of the Derby Museum

The year 1850 marked the start of a campaign within the Liverpool City Council, the object of which was to establish a municipal museum. Led by James Picton, an architect, George Holt, a merchant and the Reverend A. Hume (who went on to hold a close association with the Liverpool Museum up until his death),[1] this campaign began at a time when civic pride in the town of Liverpool (the town was granted city status in 1880) was high and it was felt that, Liverpool, like other towns in the UK, should host a public museum, art gallery and library (Picton 1858: 691-692). This growing civic pride came at a particularly successful point in Liverpool's history; it had developed rapidly from a small local port into a major international shipping centre (see section 6.1.4), which brought with it financial success and a thriving population of over 250,000 inhabitants (e.g. Chandler 1960).

A number of meetings were held by the Council concerning the formation of a museum. This included dialogue between the Council and the Royal Institution of Liverpool concerning the transfer of their collections to the Corporation.[2] However, this avenue proved unsuccessful and little progress was made until July 1851 when the Council received a letter from the 14th Earl of Derby in which he stated that:

> It was the anxious wish of my dear and lamented father, as it is my own, that the very extensive and valuable collection of stuffed birds and animals which it was the labour of his life to form, should not after his death be dispersed, but rendered as far as is possible available to the amusement and instruction of his countrymen and neighbours ... I cannot do better than transcribe his own words, 'with the anxious desire that what I have collected during the long existence that has been granted me, may be devoted more particularly to the gratification, and I would hope, advantage of the part of this country with which I have been more immediately connected and in which I cannot feel a more direct interest I would desire that this museum should be placed in the care of a body of Trustees, after the model of the British Museum to be placed in the town or environs of Liverpool, hoping that the public authorities there

[1] Hume, A. (1859) Character of the Liverpool Town Museum, with suggestions for its interior arrangement. Reprinted from the *Liverpool Daily Post*. Available at Liverpool Central Library, reference number H 550 MOR.
[2] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 1850-51 (352 MIN/LIB 1/1).

may think it fit to erect some building for its reception'.[3]

The bequest made by Edward Smith Stanley, the 13th Earl of Derby (1775-1851), to the Corporation of Liverpool in 1851 consisted of a large and important collection of (approximately 20,000) birds and mammals which the Earl had been collecting since the early years of the nineteenth century. Although he did consider leaving his collection to the British Museum, he finally decided against this as it would have required the division of the collection. The Liverpool Corporation was very happy to accept the Earl of Derby's bequest. Following a year of concerted effort to establish a public museum, the Earls' collection offered the perfect opportunity to do so, acting as the foundation for a public museum in the borough of Liverpool. The Liverpool Library and Museum Act was passed by Parliament in 1852, allowing this to be the case (Picton 1858: 692).[4] The collection was first exhibited in the Derby Museum at the Union Rooms, Duke Street, and opened to the public on 8th March 1853 (managed by a committee [the Library and Museums Committee] of the Liverpool Town Council). However, this was only seen as a temporary holding place for the Derby collection until more suitable and grander accommodation could be found. This actually happened remarkably quickly owing to Mr William Brown (later Sir William Brown), MP for South Lancashire, who offered to pay for the construction of a free museum and library. Work began on the building in 1857 on Shaw's Brow which is today known as William Brown Street, and was opened to the public on 18th October 1860 (Ford 1955: 4; Knowles 2002: 10-13).

Although the Derby Museum (with a focus on the natural world) was the foundation of the Liverpool Museum, later in the century, in 1867, a collection was donated by Joseph Mayer (which was focused on the cultural world; see section 6.2.8) known as the Mayer Museum. These two collections amalgamated to become the Free Public Museums of Liverpool. Throughout this chapter, the term 'Liverpool Museum', will refer to both the Derby Museum and Mayer Museum. The following section will go on to examine the 13th Earl of Derby and his collection, upon which, the Liverpool Museum was founded.

6.1.2 Edward Smith Stanley, the 13th Earl of Derby

Edward Smith Stanley was born on 21st April 1775. He spent the majority of his life living at his family estate, Knowsley Hall, in Knowsley (now in Merseyside), and this is where he

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[3] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, Wednesday 16th July 1851. A special meeting of the council of the borough of Liverpool (352 MIN/LIB 1/1).
[4] Liverpool did not adopt the Ewart's Act of 1845 or the Public Libraries and Museums Act, 1850, but obtained a special local act in 1852.

nurtured his passion for natural history. To fulfil this passion he amassed animals, both living and dead, to fill his aviary, menagerie and museum which he housed on his estate. These collections contained specimens from throughout the world. Both his menagerie and museum were very successful. On his death, the Knowsley live collections totalled 318 species (1272 individuals) of bird and 94 species (345 individuals) of mammal (Fisher 2002a: 84-95).

Throughout his life, although having no academic training in the subject, he described several species new to science and was in contact with some of the greatest natural historians of the period such as Charles Darwin, John Audubon[5] and John Gould.[6] Although he was not renowned for his scientific writing, having only published a few papers, he spent much time both in his own museum and in the British Museum making anatomical records and identifying specimens. He was a very important figure in the world of natural history; elected Vice-President of the Linnean Society in 1817 and President from 1828 to 1834. He was a founder member of the Zoological Society of London and President from 1831 until his death (Fisher & Jackson 2002: 44-51). The fact that a number of mammals, birds, reptiles, insects and plants were named after the Earl of Derby, for example, Lord Derby's parakeet (*Palaeornis derbianus*), Chestnut-tipped toucanet (*Aulacorhynchus derbianus*) and Lord Derby's woolly opossum (*Didelphys derbianus*), illustrates that he was held in high esteem by the scientific community (Fisher, Largen & Wallace 2002: 120-121).

The importance of the specimens donated to the Corporation of Liverpool by the Earl cannot be emphasized enough; both in a scientific context, many of the specimens were type material, and an historical context. To highlight just a few of these specimens (particularly those of a foreign nature) is difficult as there were so many, however they included; the Highland guan (*Penelope niger*) from Central America, the original description of which was based on two males and a female in the Knowsley Museum, all three of which are now in the Liverpool Museum; the now extinct Passenger Pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*) obtained from John Audubon; a Budgerigar (*Melopsittacus undulatus*), the first ever to be bred in captivity by the Earl of Derby; and the Eastern Quoll (*Dasyurus viverrinus*) from Australia/Tasmania (Fisher 2002b).

It is interesting to note how he built up this collection. Although it contained specimens from throughout the world, the Earl of Derby physically collected very few specimens himself. Fortunately, he was very wealthy, so he was able to spend a vast amount of money purchasing specimens from others. His first major accession was in 1806 when he purchased over 100 mounted birds from the sale of the Leverian Museum (including some

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[5] John Audubon (1785-1851) supplied specimens of North American birds and mammals to Knowsley aviary and menagerie and museum in the knowledge that Lord Derby would subscribe to his publications (Fisher 2002a: 80-83).

[6] For more information on Gould see sections 4.2.1 and 7.3.1.

specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook).[7] An inventory of his collection in the 1820s reveals that he had over 1600 specimens. This may sound a lot, but was in fact nothing compared with what was to follow after he officially inherited the title of the Earl of Derby in 1834. On the inheritance of this title he had access to a large amount of money which he used to acquire more specimens, commissioning people to travel around the world (including the British colonies) and collect for him. He purchased specimens from dealers in the UK, as well as those overseas and continued to buy from other people's collections. Some of the people who provided him with specimens included, Henry Salt (1780-1827),[8] Thomas Whitfield,[9] Joseph Burke,[10] John MacGillivray (1821-1867)[11] and John Audubon (1785-1851).[12] This is by no means a comprehensive list of the contacts he made. By the end of his life, Lord Derby had made an astonishing international network of collectors and agents, some of whom were given specific lists of items which he desired to add to his collection. It was largely through these contacts that he formed a collection which covered every major group of birds and mammals (Fisher & Jackson 2002: 44-51).

6.1.3 Future directions: a place for colonial material

As already highlighted, the Earl of Derby's collection was made up of material from across the globe. This may have influenced the future development of the Liverpool Museum in terms of the type of material it would collect. With Liverpool positioned on a port, the

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[7] John Ashton Lever (1729-1788) established a museum (which dates from the 1760s) containing natural history, ethnological material and other curiosities at his home, Alkrington Hall, Manchester. He moved this museum to Leicester Square, London, opening it to the public in 1775. This proved very popular, and Lever carried on adding to the collection, which included rare and exotic specimens such as zoological and ethnological material collected on the second and third voyages of Captain Cook. However, the popularity of the Museum declined, so Lever decided to dispose of his collections through a lottery draw which was won by James Parkinson (1730?-1813). He used them to set up his own museum, which was unsuccessful, so he put the collection up for auction; the 13th Earl of Derby was one of the buyers (Largen 1997).

[8] Henry Salt was a diplomat who travelled to deliver a message from King George III to the Emperor of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). While on this journey through the remote highlands of north east Africa he collected the first zoological collections to come out of this area (Fisher 2002a: 53).

[9] Thomas Whitfield worked for Lord Derby in West Africa. He was a very accomplished collector, and between 1841 and 1849, he spent time in Gambia and Sierra Leone collecting live mammals, birds and plants for the Earl. As soon as he had a large enough consignment, he accompanied it back to London by ship and Liverpool by rail. He brought back many important specimens new to science such as Lord Derby's Eland (*Tautotragus derbianus*) (Fisher 2002a: 69, 74 & 132).

[10] Joseph Burke was initially employed as an under-gardener at Knowsley, but was sent out to South Africa in 1839 to obtain specimens for the Museum and Menagerie. Collections which he brought back to Liverpool included living specimens from Cape Eland (Fisher 2002a: 89).

[11] John MacGillivray was one of the Earl's sponsored collectors. He was on board the HMS *Fly* during the British Navy's survey of the north coast of Australia, the Torres Straits and New Guinea between 1842 and 1846. They dropped MacGillivray off at Port Essington to collect from September 1844 to January 1845 (Fisher 2002a: 48 & 76).

[12] See footnote 5.

Museum had the perfect opportunity to continue the trend which began when the Earl of Derby made his bequest, that was, to furnish the Museum with foreign specimens. This was actually predicted at an early stage in the Museum's history by William Brown. He was aware that:

> ships trading out of Liverpool to all parts of the world would provide great opportunities for adding to the museum much that is valuable. (cited in Knowles 2002: 11)

The Council proposed that the Museums would:

> receive gifts, and make purchases of books, maps, plans, pictures, drawings, engravings, sculptures, specimens of art or science, or other articles which they may deem suitable and proper to be deposited therein.[13]

Unlike Brown, the Council did not specify the provenance of material which would be incorporated within the Museum. The proposed aims were very general, covering accessions of all types, with no emphasis put on the provenance of the collection. The Council made it clear that the overall mission of the Museum was to act as an educational establishment:

> they [the museum and library] will have an important and beneficial influence on the moral and intellectual character of the Town in future, that they will give an impulse to its educational institutions which is much to be desired and that both directly and indirectly they will contribute to its progress and prosperity. [14]

Through its educational function it was hoped that the Museum would improve the town of Liverpool by raising the standards of the working class.[15]

It is surprising that there was no specific reference made to foreign material within the aims which were set out by the Council, especially as Liverpool had known connections with countries across the globe. These connections will now be explored.

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[13] From the Liverpool Library and Museum Act 1852 (Hq 346 1852). This quote stating the aims of the Museum continued to be used later in the Museums history, being repeated in the Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 7th May 1873 (352 MIN/LIB 1/9).
[14] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd Sept 1851 (352 MIN/LIB 1/1 1850-52).
[15] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd Sept 1851 (352 MIN/LIB 1/1 1850-52).

6.1.4 Connections with the colonies: the port of Liverpool

In the nineteenth century Liverpool became the greatest port in the world, its shipping lines regularly visiting countries throughout the world (Chandler 1960: 14-15; 33-39). Liverpool's success as a port has been attributed to a number of factors. First and foremost, was the discovery of America, which strategically placed Liverpool between the Old and New World. This brought with it the advantage of being geographically situated in the catchment area of many markets. Secondly, Liverpool was located adjacent to a natural shallow tidal inlet off the river Mersey which provided a harbour for small-scale fishing. However it was almost unusable for any maritime docking until the early eighteenth century, when the world's first enclosed wet dock was constructed allowing ships to enter the dock at high tide and unload in less than two days. Thirdly, Liverpool was driven by the initiative of its ship-owners and shipping companies. This will be illustrated further when looking directly at the connections which the port of Liverpool had with the British colonies (Chandler 1960: 13-14).

The use of Liverpool as a port can be traced back many centuries, for example, from 1648 Liverpool was trading tobacco with the New World, namely Virginia (Chandler 1960: 22). However, it was not until later, between the eighteenth century and the late 1850s (when the port was controlled by the Borough), that Liverpool became one of the most powerful ports in the UK. During this time docks were constructed, warehouses and port facilities were invested in, and trade links were made across the globe (Chandler 1960: 24). In certain trades, such as the African trade, Liverpool out-competed the likes of London and Bristol (Chandler 1960: 14).

This chapter is concerned with the latter half of the nineteenth century (the period during which the Liverpool Museum was established), which was an important period in terms of the development of the port of Liverpool. During this time a number of new docks were opened and new methods of shipping, including steam ships, were employed. These developments were accompanied by an increase in trade, allowing the port to hold onto the success it had previously experienced and build upon it to become even more successful. This was very profitable for those working in the shipping industry:

> With the transformation to iron and steam their grasp of commercial potentiality brought the oceans and ports of the whole globe under their influence. As a result, Liverpool merchants and shipowners, endowed with great wealth, began to live in a style befitting their influence, and their fine town houses became the centres of gracious living. (Hyde 1971: 43)

In 1857, compared to other ports in Britain, Liverpool dominated the British export trade, accounting for 45% (Hyde 1971: 51). From the 1850s to the end of the century the success of the port of Liverpool grew, as can be seen in Table 6.1 which shows how tonnage increased as the century progressed (*ibid.*: 96).

Table 6.1 *Net registered tonnage of ships using the port of Liverpool from 1858 to 1900 (Hyde 1971: 96).*

Year	Net registered tons (millions)
1858	4.4
1860	4.7
1870	5.7
1880	7.5
1890	9.6
1900	12.3

In 1850 the cross-Atlantic trade (which was based on Liverpool's eighteenth century trade with the plantations in raw materials such as sugar, tobacco and slaves) was Liverpool's most significant market (Table 6.2). However, with the establishment of steamships and the demands from the continent for manufactured goods, patterns began to change and new routes became established. Trade with India, Australia and Africa all grew during this period (Chandler 1960: 38); Australia became an important supplier of wool and wheat, South Africa supplied wool as well as a number of other raw products, and India supplied tea and rice. In exchange, manufactured products produced in Merseyside were supplied to these countries, manufacturing industries such as food processing and chemical industries developing around the port (Hyde 1971: 51). During this time, trade with the British colonies was very important, Liverpool often being referred to as the 'second city of the Empire' (for example Hunt 1972: 46). The development of this trade with the British colonies of Australia, Africa and India, will now be examined.

Table 6.2 *Liverpool's overseas markets at the turn of 1850 (Hyde 1971: 48).*

Markets	Thousands of tonnes
United States	852.6
Canada	187.5
Mediterranean and the Black Sea	153.4
Brazil and the River Plate	76.1
W. Indies	71.1
Africa and the Cape of Good Hope	*44.4*
France	34.8
Spain and Portugal	25.8
Australia	*23.3*
Baltic	14.0

In comparison to other continents, the connections which Liverpool established with Africa were made relatively late on, only starting to develop in the eighteenth century via the slave trade (although there were minor trade links established before this). This triangular trade consisted of the transportation of manufactured goods from Liverpool to Africa which were then exchanged for slaves. The slaves were transported across the Atlantic to the West Indies and Americas, and exchanged for raw products such as sugar, cotton and rum which were then brought back to England (Chandler 1960: 26). After the abolition of participation in the slave trade for British citizens (1807), it was possible that the connections which Liverpool had with Africa would terminate. However, this was not the case, other trade opportunities in the raw products of cocoa, timber and palm oil emerging. The establishment of these new trade links was by no means simple as very little was known about the continent and its commercial potential. To find out more about West Africa further exploration was necessary. This was dangerous, many men who travelled to Africa died through the contraction of tropical diseases. Another problem causing a barrier to potential trading relations was West Africa's lack of natural harbours. Fortunately, some of these problems and barriers were overcome owing to the efforts of a number of Liverpool merchants who visited West Africa. During the nineteenth century, trading posts protected by forts around which trading towns grew, became commonplace on the coast of West Africa. With this growing trade, voyages from Liverpool to Africa became more frequent than those from London (Chandler 1960: 167-178; Davies 1969: 212-238).

Liverpool had a number of shipping lines which served south, east and western Africa (Chandler 1960: 185). West Africa was most heavily served, shipping companies such as the Palm Line, the Guinea Gulf Line and the Elder Dempster Line, all having established routes. By the late nineteenth century, the trade to West Africa became monopolised by one Liverpudlian shipping firm, the Elder Dempster Line. This line served over 30 ports located on the west coast of Africa. Alexander Elder and John Dempster firstly worked for MacGregor Laird, who, following an expedition up the River Niger, in 1852 formed the African Steam Ship Company (*ibid.*: 167-178). However, they left this Company to join a Glasgow shipping company, the British and African Steam Navigation Company which eventually became Elder Dempster & Company. There was great competition between the African Steam Ship Company and Elder Dempster & Company, but they agreed to share the sailings from Liverpool to the west coast of Africa. During this time another company specialising in the African trade was established by a man named Alfred Jones (1845-1909) (who later went on to dominate the West African trade).[16] To prevent competition, Jones was

[16] Sir Alfred Lewis Jones (1845-1909) was a shipping entrepreneur. He started his career as a cabin boy with the African Steam Ship Company in 1859, and by 1884 he was the owner of his own company, Elder Dempster Line Ltd. In 1891 Elder Dempster became managing agents for the African Steam Ship

offered a junior partnership with Elder Dempster which he accepted. He eventually became a controlling director of the company in 1884 when Elder and Dempster retired. Jones also bought shares in the African Steam Ship Company, which became his. By 1890 he had also purchased the whole of the Elder Dempster Company (*ibid.*: 167-178). The purchase of these companies allowed him to incorporate them into one company, giving him the monopoly of West African trade from Liverpool. In terms of the Liverpool Museum this was very significant, as the Company played an important role in supplying African material, especially ethnographic, to the Museum in the late nineteenth century (*ibid.*: 167-178; see section 6.2.3).

The sub-continent of India was also the destination for a number of Liverpool shipping companies. One of the earliest shipping lines to trade with Calcutta was the Brocklebank Line. It regularly served a number of ports including Calcutta and Aden. Calcutta remained the principal destination, although Bombay was also served. At its peak in 1845 the Brocklebank Line had over 50 ships and a tonnage of over 12,484 tonnes. Other lines which traded with India included the Harrison Line, the Hall Line, the City Line, the Anchor Line, the Clan Line, the Union Castle Line and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company Group (Chandler 1960: 185-209). Prior to 1814, it was the London merchants who held the monopoly of trade with India owing to the charter of the East India Company. Liverpool merchants and others Liverpudlians who stood to gain from the expansion of trade with the East, campaigned to lift this monopoly. This was achieved in 1814 and in the same year, the first ship set sail from Liverpool to India in 1814. From then on the trade between Liverpool and India expanded. Cotton, spices, sugar, wool and opium were important from India; exports included manufactured goods (*ibid.*: 185-209).

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided a shorter route to India (and the Far East) for ships and encouraged the use of steamships, allowing a number of Indian ports to become regular destinations. Hyde (1971: 106) states that, 'Indian ports became chocked with steamships'. Cotton was one of Liverpool's most important commodities. It was primarily exported from America, but this was inhibited in the 1860s owing to the American Civil War (1861). This opened up and increased the use of other trade routes, including India (a supplier of cotton since the 1840s), however, India never seriously competed with the US as a supplier (Chandler 1960: 35; Hyde 1971: 95-6).

Company, in which he eventually acquired 75% of the shares. Jones was involved in all aspects of trade with West Africa, including chandlery, cartage, oil mills, plantations and collieries, to name a few. He was president of the Liverpool chamber of commerce, the British Cotton Growing Association, the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association and chairman of the American chamber of commerce and Liverpool School of Commercial Research. He carried out many philanthropic acts including the foundation of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (1898) (Read 2004).

Unlike India, it was the transportation of people which played a major role in maintaining connections between Liverpool and Australia. Liverpool was one of the principal ports for the transportation of emigrants to Australia. In response to the gold rush which occurred in the 1850s, several journeys were made from Liverpool to Australia every month. The scale of this transportation is clearly evident when the demographics of towns in Australia are examined; the population in Melbourne trebled over a period of 18 months during this time. As well as people, Liverpool merchants also transported gold back from Australia to Liverpool. This trade route became so prosperous (the first ship to arrive back to Liverpool in 1852 had a cargo of gold worth £50,000) that shipping companies transferred some of their clippers from the American transatlantic routes to Australia. Notable Liverpool to Australia shipping lines included the Pilkington and Wilson's White Star Line, Henry Fox's Fox Line, Miller and Thompson's Golden Line, Fernie Brothers' Red Cross Line, Bright & Company, the Australian Steam Navigation Company Ltd and the Black Ball Line. The latter was founded by James Baines in 1851. The prosperity of the Liverpool-Australia route can be demonstrated by this line, which began with only one ship in 1851 but had grown to 86 ships only nine years later (Chandler 1960: 227-242).

When the gold rush died down, many of these shipping companies went bankrupt (Hyde 1971: 48). This by no means led to the end of shipping lines operating from Liverpool to Australia, three of the above listed lines (the Beazley, White Star and Black Star Lines) all continuing regular service to Australia (for example Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney and Adelaide), establishing passenger, cargo and mail services. Other shipping companies also covered this route (*ibid.*: 227-242).

These accounts have demonstrated the growing connections Liverpool had with the colonies as the nineteenth century progressed. This alone is illustrated by the number of shipping companies which served the routes of Liverpool to Australia, India and Africa. These companies were largely established due to the endeavour of Liverpudlians. The success of the shipping industry was not ignored by those involved in cultural organisations, for example Cuthbert Collingwood (1826-1908),[17] reported in the *Proceedings of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society* that:

> The mercantile marine of the port of Liverpool, engaged in foreign and colonial trade - amounting to 4500 sail, measuring 2 1/2 millions of tons and employing many

[17] Cuthbert Collingwood (1826-1908), naturalist, was employed as a lecturer of botany at the Royal Infirmary Medical School in Liverpool (1858-1866). Following this, he volunteered as a surgeon and naturalist undertaking scientific voyages aboard the *HMS Rifleman* and the *HMS. Serpent*, visiting a number of distant countries such as China, the Philippines and Singapore. During his time in Liverpool he was at the centre of scientific developments and debates, he was Honourable Secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society and Vice-President of the Field Club (Steele 2004).

> thousands of men - exhibits an amount of enterprise, such as, probably, no other age, and no other place, has ever before shown. The whole globe is scoured by these men and ships in search of whatever may conduce to civilisation, and to the wealth of the country which is the centre of this vast and important combination.[18]

He also gave some figures as to the number of ships which were engaged with voyages to different countries, reporting that in 1860 there were 331 vessels going to Australia, 74 to the West coast of Africa and 37 to other British possessions.[19]

Liverpool clearly recognised the connections which they had with the colonies and were proud of them, the Liverpool Museum, exhibited cases of imports from the colonies (as exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851).[20] An International Exhibition was held in Liverpool in 1866, illustrating how these connections were made through travel (e.g. Anon 1886). It was even suggested that the development of culture within Liverpool could be attributed to the success of the shipping industry:

> To some extent, the process of acquiring the art and culture of a gentleman can be traced back to an elite of Liverpool merchants, whose views and cultural standards did much to alter the character of the town itself and, by example, to enliven the minds of its citizens ... The lure of Liverpool, both as a source of livelihood and prospective fortune and as a centre where education and culture could be acquired, was undoubtedly great. Young men of ability began to leave the farms and fields of their ancestors and seek new careers in shipping, merchanting or shipbuilding. (Hyde 1971: 43)

The effects of the shipping industry on the arts and cultures of Liverpool, specifically on the Liverpool Museum will be examined later in the chapter (section 6.2). Firstly, the flow of colonial acquisitions (Australian, African and Indian) into the Liverpool Museum during the nineteenth century will be revealed.

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[18] The Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool (LPLS) during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 46-57.
[19] The Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 46-57.
[20] Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1853.

6.1.5 The flow of colonial material

The Liverpool Museum was the recipient of a phenomenal quantity of colonial material, amounting to at least 788 acquisitions over a 47 year period (1853-1900) which, with the exception of the 1850s, entered the Museum at a relatively steady rate throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century (Figure 6.1). During the 1860s, '70s and '90s, the Museum received in excess of 150 acquisitions per decade, and despite a minor slump in the 1880s, the number of acquisition received (131) is still notably high. The initial scarcity of acquisitions in the decade of the Museum's official opening (in 1853) is likely due to an absence of donations in 1851, 1852 and 1853, immediately following the bequest of the Earl of Derby on which the Museum's collection was founded (owing to the fact that the Museum was not formally opened until 1853). When this data is divided into natural history and ethnographic material, the flow exhibited by natural history material was similar to that described above, however, the flow of ethnographic material was quite different (see section 6.2.8; Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.1 Colonial (African, Indian and Australian) natural history and ethnographic acquisitions received by the Liverpool Museum from 1853 to 1900.

By far the majority of colonial material was acquired from Africa (Figure 6.2). The flow of material from each colony is steady throughout, apart from a rapid increase in the amount of African material at the end of the century (Figure 6.3).

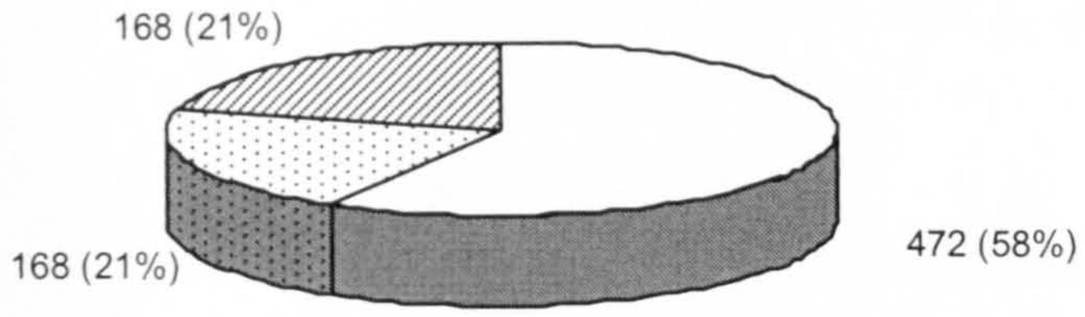

Figure 6.2 Quantity (and percentage) of natural history and ethnographic material received by the Liverpool Museum from the British Colonies of Africa (plain), Australia (striped) and India (dotted), from 1853 to 1900.

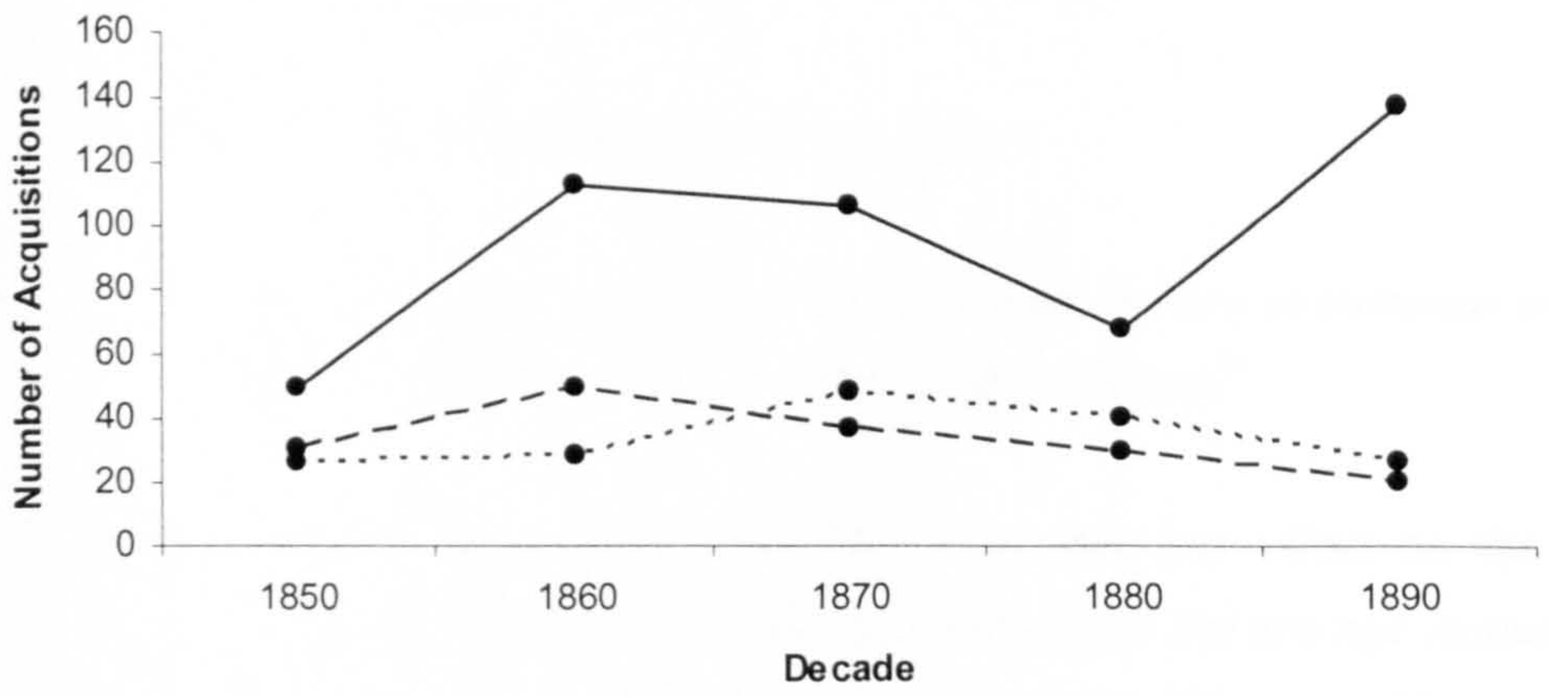

Figure 6.3 The flow of natural history and ethnographic material from the individual colonies of Africa (solid line), Australia (small dashes) and India (large dashes) experienced by the Liverpool Museum, from 1853 to 1900.

The structure of this chapter differs slightly from the other case studies, owing to the relative steady flow of colonial acquisitions from the colonies to the Liverpool Museum (Figure 6.1): rather than examining the flow of acquisitions chronologically over time, identifying interesting peaks and troughs, the factors affecting colonial acquisitions have been examined collectively. This approach has also been taken because events occurring during the development of the Liverpool Museum did not appear to affect the flow of colonial acquisitions. For example, the 1870s saw a general depression in the town, as well as throughout the country, which caused a decrease in visitor numbers.[21] However, this did not have a noticeable effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions. Similarly, in the 1890s there seems to have been a lack of funds which meant that the purchase of natural history specimens had to be limited:

[21] 25th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1877.

> We have been unable, for lack of funds to add many specimens to our already splendid collection of Natural History.[22]

Again this had no affect on the colonial acquisitions made by the museum. On moving to the new building (on Shaw's Brow) there were complaints about the space available and the number of specimens which there were to display:

> accommodation to be insufficient even for present requirements and to leave no room for specimens yet to be stuffed or for future acquisitions.[23]

Concerns which continued throughout the century:

> specimens in many departments of the Museum are now so numerous as to require more than the space available for their public exhibition.[24]

However, there is no evidence that this either had any effect on the flow of colonial acquisitions. Even the donation of objects illustrative of the arts and manufactures of various nations by Joseph Mayer (adding a new dimension to the Liverpool Museum, which until then was dominated by natural history, and leading to the advent of the Mayer Museum in 1867) did not change the overall flow of colonial material (see section 6.2.8 for more information on the Mayer Museum and its effect on the flow of ethnographic acquisitions).

6.2 The movement of material from the colonies to Liverpool Museum (1853-1900)

Figure 6.1 has clearly established that the Liverpool Museum received large amounts of colonial material throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. The principal donations listed in the annual reports of the Museum, from the very early years of its establishment, always included colonial material. As these colonial donations were often included in the principal donation list, this does not only indicate that these acquisitions were numerous, but that they made up an important part of the collection.

The remainder of this chapter will go on to reveal why this material was acquired in such large quantities and who was providing the Museum with this material. Before going any

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[22] 40th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1892.
[23] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 10th July 1862 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4)
[24] 37th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1887

further, it is vital that Mr Thomas Moore (1824-1892), who officially accepted his appointment as Curator of the Liverpool Museum on 11th February 1852,[25] is introduced, as he played a pivotal role in the acquisition of colonial specimens. On his death, his management style was perceived to be the key factor that accounted for the growth of the collection of the Liverpool Museum, in particular, the global nature of the collection:

> It is under his management that the Museum developed from the comparatively small beginning in Duke Street in 1853, to the splendid collections of Natural History and Antiquities in William Brown Street, which have been enriched by gifts and the purchase of specimens from all parts of the world. (Morton 1892: xiv)

When looking at Moore's past employment it is not surprising that he was keen to encourage the acquisition of foreign material. Prior to his job at the Liverpool Museum, he was employed by the Earl of Derby to attend to both his living and dead collections at Knowsley (Ford 1955: 4). The global nature of the Earl of Derby's collection and the methods by which he attained this collection have already been documented (see section 6.1.2) and Moore, who was working within this environment would have been quite at home with foreign specimens and well aware of the methods the Earl employed to gather these specimens. Having connections abroad played a key role in the growth of the Earl's collection and it is evident that Moore was keen to foster international relationships, allowing him to build on the collection which the Museum inherited from the Earl of Derby. Although the collection donated by the Earl of Derby was large, it was lacking in certain areas, especially monkeys, carnivores and larger quadrupeds. This was owing to the fact that the Earl gave many of these away to public museums as he did not care for them in his collection.[26] Moore realised that both from a scientific and a popular viewpoint, it was necessary to add these specimens to the collection.[27] Moore was also aided in this task by the money which was made available to him for the purchase of specimens (see section 6.2.5). The following sections will go on to reveal the sources from which these colonial collections were obtained and the initiative Moore used to acquire this material. This will commence with an examination of the role which the port of Liverpool played in the acquisition of colonial material and how Moore exploited the position of the Museum in this port location.

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[25] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 11th February 1852 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[26] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th October 1854 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[27] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th October 1854 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).

6.2.1 An identified source of foreign material: the sailors of the port of Liverpool

The connections which Liverpool had with the rest of the world through its port (as described in 6.1.4), and the possibilities of using these connections to furnish museums of the area with specimens from across the globe, did not go unnoticed. In 1861, at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), a paper was read by Cuthbert Collingwood on this very subject.[28] After outlining the connections which the town had via its port with the rest of the world, he went on to question why sailors did not use this opportunity to collect foreign specimens and donate them to the museums of the local area:

> How is it that such a vast staff of enterprising men, constantly sailing to all ports of the globe, do so little to add to our knowledge of the natural productions, which they, of all men, are in the very best position to explore, and best able to provide for the investigations of scientific naturalists at home.[29]

It was recognised that a small number of sailors did provide museums with valuable collections, but these sailors were the exceptions to the rule, most donating 'unimportant' material or no material at all:

> A piece of coral, a parrot, a shell or two, or something which has received attention from its oddity, is occasionally brought by the sailor from the rich and interesting regions which he has visited.[30]

It was believed that if all sailors followed the example of the few exceptions who presented museums with collections from their travels, the museums of Liverpool (and Manchester) would contain complete collections in every department.[31] Collingwood then went on to suggest reasons as to why all sailors did not participate in collecting whilst at sea. He primarily attributed this to a lack of time, however this reason was quickly retracted:

> The ship is not always in a gale - she does not always require the close supervision which is doubtless often necessary. There are numerous seasons of repose, and ample time which might be employed in the pursuit of those rational amusements or studies which would yield a vast benefit to science.[32]

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[28] A copy of which was published in the Proceedings of the Liverpool Philosophical and Literary Society (LPLS), 16: 46-57.
[29] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 47-48.
[30] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 48.
[31] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 51.
[32] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 49-50.

Finally, it was envisaged that the problem may lie with the sailor's employers who would not look kindly on the sailors collecting during the time which they were getting paid to work. It was hoped that an influential body such as the BAAS could persuade ship-owners to encourage their employees to collect whilst at work:

> how ship-owners generally can be induced to sanction in their captains the cultivation of those tastes which they often possess, and which cannot but have a beneficial influence upon their character; and to encourage the improvement of those opportunities which they so abundantly enjoy.[33]

The paper must have had an impact, as following its reading, a Committee was formed whose role was to liaise with ship-owners to try and persuade them to encourage their employees to collect. It was also recommended that the paper which was read was printed and circulated among those interested in shipping.[34] Following this, a meeting was held in the Liverpool Town Hall with some of the most important ship-owners of the port as well Mr. T.M. Mackay, the Chairman and Secretary of the Mercantile Marine Service Association. The suggestions made in the paper presented to the BAAS were put forward and approved by those present and the Mercantile Marine Service Association agreed to start a scheme which would award those who encouraged their employees to collect with a certificate.[35] Moore, who was then curator of the Liverpool Museum, was asked to write a guide for those who went out to sea on how to observe and collect zoological specimens (see section 6.2.2).[36] By looking specifically at the Liverpool Museum the effects, if any, of the action of this committee can be assessed.

6.2.2 Moore's efforts to exploit those associated with the port

Although at the reading of the paper at the meeting of the BAAS, the deterrent which was identified as preventing sailors collecting was a lack of time and the discernment of the employer, it is evident that not knowing what or how to collect was also a problem. It was suggested that when captains returned with very common well-known specimens they were

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[33] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 50.
[34] The committee consisted of Dr Collingwood (Liverpool), R. Patterson (Belfast), John Lubbock (London), Jos. Aspinall Turner (Manchester), P. P. Carpenter (Warrington) and Rev. H. H. Higgins (Liverpool).
[35] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 55.
[36] Fourth ordinary meeting of the LPLS (26th November 1860), Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1860-61) 15: 54-55.

often laughed at and not thanked for their efforts. A set of instructions was needed to prevent this.[37] It was Moore who wrote these instructions and although it was in 1861 that he was asked to do this by the Committee, there is evidence that he wrote it some eight years previously (shortly after being appointed as curator at the Liverpool Museum), the minutes of the Library and Museums Committee recording that one of the tasks which he should carry out was:

> To print a body of General Instructions for the use of persons desirous of collecting specimens abroad for which there have been enquiries particularly by Mr Hess who offers to procure whatever may be desirable from Paraguay and its neighbourhood.[38]

This highlights three points. Firstly, the Liverpool Museum used this method of preparing instructions for collecting to assist the flow of foreign material into their Museum long before the matter was brought up at the BAAS meeting. Secondly, it shows that the Museum was continuing the trend which had been set by the inherited collection of the Earl of Derby; they clearly wanted the collection to continue to give a global perspective. Thirdly, people were willing to collect material whilst on their travels, in this case, a Mr Hess offered to collect whilst travelling to Paraguay. The fact that people were actively volunteering, shows their enthusiasm for collecting and a desire to contribute to the collections of the Liverpool Museum.

Moore realised that sailors were a valuable source which could be exploited to acquire foreign material. He did not want to offend them, but encouraged them, promising that:

> whatever they brought they should not be laughed [at] for their trouble.[39]

Adding collections to the Museum would have been of interest to Moore, his job as curator including the responsibility of accumulating collections for the Museum.

The guide, which he wrote to assist sailors with collecting, was aimed at the novice and was written in a very simple style, both approachable and encouraging to the sailor. For example, it stated that:

> the Natural History may be largely promoted by those 'who go down to the sea in

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[37] Fourth ordinary meeting of the LPLS (26th November 1860), Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1860-61) 15.
[38] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 17th March 1853 (352 MIN/LIB 1/1 1850-52).
[39] Fourth ordinary meeting of the LPLS (26th November 1860), Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1860-61) 15: 54-55.

> ships' by the collecting of specimens, whereby new kinds of animals may occasionally be obtained.[40]

It gave advice on how to collect, prepare and preserve specimens as well as how to make observations and collect data. Although simple, the guide was comprehensive, divided into sections concerning different groups:

- mammalia
- birds
- reptiles
- fish
- insects
- shells and molluscous animals
- crustacea
- annelids or worms
- star fish and sea urchins
- sea anemones and zoophytes
- acalephs or jelly fish
- corals and sponges
- diatomaceae and other minute objects.

There were also sections on trailing and dredging, spirit specimens, the establishment of aquaria, useful books and equipment.

Not only did he write a collecting instruction booklet for those travelling abroad, but he suggested to the Museum and Library Committee that it would be beneficial for the Museum to send a circular to both merchants of the town and sea captains highlighting how they could help the Museum progress through the collection and donation of foreign specimens.[41] Sailors were also encouraged to donate material to the Liverpool Museum by the promise that if they did, they would be made Associate members of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.[42] By the following year 13 sea captains had been made Associate members.[43] The comment made by the Liverpool Biological Society, within their Proceedings, indicates that Moore was successful in his quest to utilise sailors to gain foreign

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[40] Fourth ordinary meeting of the LPLS (26th November 1860), Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1860-61): 15.
[41] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 15th March 1855 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[42] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 51st session (1861-62) 16.
[43] Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1862-63) 20.

collections for the Museum:

> Mr Moore made great and very successful efforts to induce captains of vessels to collect and bring home marine specimens. (Morton 1892: xiv)

It is interesting to note that it is specifically the 'captains of vessels' who were targeted. This could simply be because they were in a more favourable position to collect compared to other ranks. For example, they would have had more time to collect and, in addition, were probably more highly educated. Through the examination of the accessions received by Liverpool Museum from the sea-faring community of Liverpool, it can be determined if it was the sea captains who made the majority of donations.

6.2.3 Donations made by those connected with the shipping industry

Throughout the nineteenth century the accession books of the Liverpool Museum were littered with donations made by seamen. The annual reports of the Museum acknowledged this:

> The donations during the past year have been very numerous, as the following list will testify. Many gifts of value and interest have been received from the Captains of vessels sailing from Liverpool, all of whom are continuing their efforts in the preservation of objects for the Museum. Several other Captains, whose names do not yet appear, are known to be collecting also, with the views of adding to the Collection.[44]

This statement suggests that of those belonging to the sea-faring community it was the sea captains who were the major contributors of colonial material. Although the comment above was made in the 1860s, ship captains continued to donate colonial material throughout the century (Table 6.3).

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[44] 11th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1863-4.

Table 6.3 *Number of sea captains making colonial donations to the Liverpool Museum.*

Decade	Number of sea captains making colonial donations	Donations by sea captains as a percentage of donors of colonial donations
1850	6	6%
1860	20	11%
1870	16	8%
1880	6	5%
1890	6	3%

It is interesting to note that it was the decade of the 1860s which saw the highest number of donations made by sea captains to the Liverpool Museum (both in terms of the absolute number and as a percentage of the total number of donations). This could possibly act as a piece of evidence to highlight that the action of the Committee formed as a result of a meeting held by the BAAS (which occurred in the 1860s) which encouraged sailors to collect and donate material, was successful. Although it was mentioned earlier that Moore was encouraging those who travelled to donate in the previous decade (1850s), it seems that this did not have a huge impact on the number of colonial donations, as only six were made by sea captains during this period. This highlights that another factor which inhibited collecting by sea captains, such as their employers, as identified at the BAAS meeting, may have been the over-riding issue preventing seamen from collecting. It is also interesting to note that the peak in donations made by sea captains correlates with the time when shipping links from Liverpool to Australia and India increased (see section 6.1.4).

Of the identified sea captains, a small number made multiple donations to the Museum. In fact, some sea captains could claim the role of being the most regular donors to the Museum. For example, during the 1860s Captain Fletcher donated:

- fish, reptiles and mollusca from Calcutta (1863)
- 51 reptiles and insects from Calcutta (1864)
- stuffed head and horns of Indian antelopes from India (1865)
- insects and marine specimens from Calcutta (1865)
- two buffalo skulls, a bottle of reptiles and two bottles of marine specimens from Calcutta (1866)
- three cobra and six bottles of reptiles from Calcutta (1866)
- two bottles of reptiles and the head of a fish from Calcutta and the Cape of Good Hope (1868).

Similarly, in the 1870s Captain Hannah donated:

- a large bat, galago, giant plantain eater, hornbill and brown gallinule from West Africa (1872)
- three birds from West Africa (1873)
- two variegated eels from Africa (1873)
- specimens of beetles from West Africa (1874)
- a large python from West Africa (1872)
- a large monitor lizard from West Africa (1874).

Along with a small number of other sea captains, these people were the exception to the rule, the majority of sea captains made single donations. For example, Captain Pill (Captain on *Lady Ebrington*) donated a seamouse from Australia in 1863; Captain Sibthorp (Captain on *SS European*) donated specimens of fish, reptiles and crustacean from Bombay in 1877 and Captain Thomas (Captain of *SS Huddersfield*) donated three snakes from West Africa in 1864. Although this was the case, sea captains were seen as very valuable donors, some were personally named and praised for the important contributions which they made, such as Captain W.H. Cawne Warren:

> The curator reported the receipt of an extensive collection of marine dredgings and other specimens mostly carefully collected by Captain W.H. Cawne Warren an old and valued contributor. The series comprises over 280 lots chiefly of small invertebrates noted with lat. [latitude] and long. [longitude] from Bass's Straits Coast of Ceylon.[45]

The Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society actually made an example of Captain Warren; an article which was printed within their *Transactions* regarding this donation began with the following sentence:

> Captain Warren has rendered good service to zoological science, and has shown what may be done by an intelligent use of the opportunities for collecting natural objects which belong to his profession. (Hincks 1880: 249)

Some of the collections made by sea captains were seen as so valuable that they were purchased by the Museum. For example, the skin and skeleton of a rhinoceros was purchased from Captain Groome for £6.[46] As well as collecting, some captains actually forged contacts

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[45] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd October 1879 (352 Min/Lib 1/13).
[46] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 10th Nov 1853 (352 Min/Lib 1/2).

with foreign institutions on behalf of the Museum (in the hope of exchanging specimens with them) whilst out on voyages:

> Advances towards exchanges have also been made to the Museums at Lisbon and Buenos Aires; and to the Aquarium Department of the Zoological Gardens at Hamburg, through the kind offices of Captain Perry, of the ss. 'Humboldt', and Captain Howison, of the ss 'Navarre'.[47]

Up until this point only those associated with the port of Liverpool, who held the job title of sea captain, have been highlighted as donors of colonial material to the Liverpool Museum. Of course, captains were not the only people who travelled on ships. Ships also carried a number of other crew who had the opportunity to collect, which indeed some of them did. Samuel Archer, who was employed as a surgeon, frequently accompanied voyages all over the world and on his return donated material to the Liverpool Museum as well as to his brother Francis Archer, who was a keen naturalist (he was on the Council of the Liverpool Biological Society) (Herdman 1892: ix-xi). He donated a wide range of material from Australia and India, from molluscs to birds. He also donated live zoological material to the Museum in the form of chitons and anemones. The Museum was very impressed with these live specimens as they did not lose their form and colour.[48] A number of geological specimens from Queensland, Australia, donated by Miss Powell in 1896, were collected by a surgeon on the *Duke of Wellington*, W.L. Powell.

One person connected with the shipping industry who cannot be forgotten when examining nineteenth century collections donated to the Liverpool Museum is Arnold Ridyard. He made a large number of donations of both ethnographic and natural history material from West Africa to the Museum at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. However, it is the ethnographical material he is best known for; Ridyard having been coined as the founder of the African ethnographic collection of the Liverpool Museum (Boston 1958: 3). Ridyard is possibly one of the most famous donors of material to the Liverpool Museum in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Over a period of 21 years (1895-1916) he is recorded as donating 2481 ethnographic objects to the Liverpool Museum (Tythacott 1998: 22). He managed to carry out this phenomenal amount of collecting owing to the job which he held. He was a maritime engineer working for the Elder and Dempster Company. It has already been stated that this company had a monopoly on trade with West Africa by the end of the century (see section 6.1.4), the accessions he made therefore reflected

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[47] 16th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1868.
[48] 5th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1857.

the trade routes which Liverpool had with West Africa. These not only included the British colonies but others as well, such as the French, Belgium and Portuguese colonies. The accession registers record that he regularly donated groups of objects and specimens, every three to four months, when his ship returned (Tythacott 1998: 22, 2001: 166-172). It would have been impossible to acquire such a large number of objects and specimens by oneself, so it is not surprising that Ridyard had a network of contacts which included other traders, administrators and Africans, who were able to collect for him:

> The director has drawn the special attention of the Committee to Mr Ridyard's interest in the Collections and his frequent exertions both personally and through his friends on the African Coast to procure specimens for the Museum as well as the trouble and care – so requisite in success – which he has expended in bringing them over, or in getting them forwarded from ports besides those at which his own vessels called.[49]

The Museum were very appreciative of the donations he made and from his first donation, made in 1895, he was mentioned every year in the annual reports for his efforts:

> Mr A. Ridyard of the S.S. Niger still continues his most generous efforts on behalf of the Museum, and we have again to record a number of West African species among our acquisitions.[50]

> Again, we would record our grateful acknowledgements to Mr A Ridyard, Chief engineer, S.S. "Niger" for his generous assistance in collecting and bringing home numerous highly interesting, and in some cases, unique objects for the West African Section of the Ethnographical Departments, also , for the assistance and rendered in this direction through Mr Ridyard, by Messrs Dr E. J. Mettle, A. Forman, G.W. Stokes, S. Smith, E. Holder, D. Sonnenberg, Walter Beattie, H.B. Crompton, Hugh Williams, James Anderson, G.P. During, John Newberry, J.E. Gibney, J.H. Greenhalgh, F.R.C. Lutterodt, J. Hirst, and Mr Mackay on the coast who have been ever ready to obtain for the collection, special wants and to Messrs. Elder Dempster & Co. for so kindly continuing their permission for these objects to come freight free.[51]

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[49] 42nd Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1894-5.
[50] 47th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1899.
[51] 47th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1899.

It is important however not to lose sight of the great contribution he also made to the natural history department of Liverpool Museum, which is often overshadowed by the ethnographic donations he made. Although it was mentioned earlier that he donated around 2500 ethnographic objects, in total he donated 6500 objects/specimens to the Museum, the remaining 4000 were natural history specimens (Tythacott 2001: 157). In terms of the number of specimens, this easily outweighs the ethnographic material he donated. The natural history specimens which Ridyard donated represented every genera, and as well as presenting dead specimens, he also presented live specimens, most of which were for the Museum's aquarium.

It has been suggested that Ridyard could not possibly have collected this large amount of material whilst at work without the support of his employer (it has already been highlighted that one of the reasons that sailors did not collect was because they were not assisted by their employers), Sir Alfred Jones (see section 6.1.4; Tythacott 2001: 162-164). It is known that Jones allowed the objects to be transported freight free and it is also recorded in the accession book that he collected some of the material which Ridyard went on to donate (four cases and three packages containing hippopotamus skulls and gorilla skulls and bones from Africa in 1884), so he presumably had his support. As well as being a successful business man, Jones was also a philanthropist, supporting many charities and founding the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (Read 2004).

It was not only regular travellers to the colonies who donated material to the Museum, others who worked on the port such as dock officers, also made donations. For example, Mr Gilbert Cummin, who worked at the dock office in Liverpool, donated a case of East Indian butterflies in 1853.[52] Presumably, he obtained these via someone who worked at the port and had travelled to East India. This was the method by which a Mr. R.J. Keen, a ship chronometer maker from Liverpool, made a collection of shells from the coast of Africa. His friend who was a sea captain, Captain Davies, collected specimens whilst on voyages and gave them to Keen on his return:

> An important collection of shells of the genus Marcyinela. This collection was made by the late Mr. R.J. Keen, Ship Chronometer Maker of Liverpool and was presented to the Museum by his daughter, Miss Edith Keen. The shells of this Molluscan genus are mostly small in size, though numerous in species. They are remarkable for the extreme delicacy and beauty of their texture and colour. They are of considerable rarity, and much prized by collectors. The species occur most frequently on the

[52] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 27th October 1853 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).

> coasts of Africa, from whence many of the above were dredged by Capt. Davies especially for his friend Mr Keen.[53]

Keen made over 18 colonial natural history donations to the Museum between the years of 1863 and 1876. These specimens presumably were amassed by Keen in a similar fashion.

Ship-owners, such as Mr William Mann, from whom two ant lions from India were purchased in 1886, also provided the Museum with specimens (Anon 1866: 163-164), as did merchants. Robert Gladstone JP, was a very successful merchant. He travelled from an early age which included a voyage around the world with stops in Australia, China and India. The knowledge which he gained helped him in later business; he became a very successful East Indian merchant and banker. He was a partner in the firms of Messrs. Ogilvy, Gillanders & Co., of Liverpool and London, and Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. of Calcutta and Rangoon, both of which were the principal firms to operate in the East Indian trade (Anon 1887: 121). He used these connections to specifically obtain specimens of sandstone from Delhi, India for the Museum. Similarly, Mr James Aspinall Tobin (1818-1891), a very active merchant on the Liverpool Exchange (Reid 1940: 44-51), provided the Museum with colonial material. He made three colonial donations in the short period of two years, all of which were from West Africa. These included a range of animals, from snakes and birds to fish and mammals. Unfortunately, little has been found out about his job as a merchant, but the donations he made to the Liverpool Museum suggest that he was involved in the West African trade. This is a distinct possibility as his father, Thomas Tobin, commanded ships out of Liverpool and was well-known on the coast of Africa (Anon 1866: 94-97). James Aspinall went on to become Mayor of Liverpool in 1854 and was also a member of the Dock Board (Reid 1940: 44-51).

Those who worked as traders in the British colonies were also an important source of colonial material. One of the best examples is Robert Bruce Napoleon Walker (1832-1901), collector, trader and explorer. He opened a trading station at Sette Kama (Gabon), West Africa, and acted as an agent for Hatton & Cookson, a well-known Liverpudlian trading firm. In his free time however, he collected both natural history and ethnographic specimens, a number of which were donated to the Liverpool Museum and sold to natural history dealers such as Samuel Stevens (entomologist and natural history dealer) and Mr Leyland (McMillan 1996: 138). Moore played a significant role in acquiring this material, forming a close relationship with Walker, encouraging him to acquire material by sending him equipment as well as paying him for acquiring specimens (see section 6.2.5). This was extremely fruitful, Walker providing the Museum with a large amount of material over a period of three decades

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[53] 37th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1889-90.

(1860, 70 and 80). The natural history material covered a wide spectra; birds, mammals, reptiles, molluscs, fish and insects (McMillan 1996). A Captain Walker also made a number of donations to the Museum. McMillan (1996: 126) suggests that he was the brother of Robert and that it may well have been due to his brother that the relationship between Moore and Robert Walker began.

Many donors had strong connection with the port of Liverpool and its activities yet had never visited the colonies and had no direct connections with them, such as the philanthropist Clarke Aspinall.[54] In addition to his position such as secretary, treasurer and member of the executive council of the Mercantile Marine Service Association, he also had a close association with those who worked out at sea. He was a trustee for the Bluecoat Hospital (originally intended for children of seafaring men) and also sat on the Executive Committee of the Seaman's Orphanage (Anon 1884: 493-496). He made two colonial donations to the Museum, of mammals and birds, both of which were from Australia. As well as their own port at Liverpool, the Museum also acquired material from other ports across Britain. The Liverpool Museum received offers of material from Portsmouth; in 1857 a Rev. Dr. Woolley from H.M. Dockyard in Portsmouth offered a collection of weapons of 'savage nations' for £150.[55] Moore made direct contact with shipping companies such as the Hudson Bay Company[56] and the Penninsula & Oriental Steam Company[57] in the hope of acquiring foreign material. A Mr J. Murray who worked for the Penninsula & Oriental Steam Company, in a letter to Mr Moore promised to do his best for the Liverpool Museum:

> both by collecting myself and encouraging my friends to do likewise.[58]

The majority of donors discussed in this section are donors of African material. Indeed, over the period examined, the Liverpool Museum received the largest percentage of colonial material from Africa (Figure 6.2). This reflects the strong trading links which Liverpool had with Africa, giving Liverpool, especially those who worked on the port and were involved in these trade links, much contact with the continent.

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[54] It is not known if he was related to James Tobin Aspinall.
[55] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 12th November 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).
[56] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 16th August 1860 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[57] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th August 1866 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[58] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th August. A letter to Mr Moore from J. Murray, dated 16th July 1866 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).

6.2.4 International connections

It seems that Moore did employ the techniques used by the Earl of Derby to gain foreign collections. On his appointment as curator, Moore made networks of contacts not only in the UK but throughout the world. This was acknowledged after only 10 years as curator:

> It is gratifying to be able to state that the Liverpool Derby Museum has taken a high position in the scientific world, owing in a great measure, to the indefatigable exertions of the Curator, Mr T. J. Moore, who has placed himself in correspondence with similar institutions in all parts of the world. The exchanges and donations resulting from this friendly intercourse have already greatly enriched the collection, and promise to be highly advantageous to the cause of Natural Science generally.[59]

As is illustrated in this statement, the connections he made were not just with individual collectors but with institutions, museums and societies, some of which specifically contained collections from the British colonies. For example, Moore built up a relationship with the East India Company Museum, which was full of material collected from throughout the sub-continent of India. He first made contact with them in 1853, which resulted in a donation of a valuable series of casts, about 100 in number, of fossil remains found in the Siwalik Hills of the Himalayas.[60] Just a year later, a letter was read at a meeting of the Library and Museum Committee stating that:

> Having laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter dated the 11th instant I am commanded to inform you that the Curator of the Company's Museum in this House has been instructed to include the Liverpool Museum in the distribution of such Duplicate specimens in the Department of Natural History as may be expected from India.[61]

The close relationship that Moore had with the East India Museum is exemplified by a report which he read to the Museum and Library Committee:

> Dr Horsfield the Keeper of the Museum of the Honorable East India Company, being anxious that this Museum should have as extensive a series as possible of the Company's duplicate Specimens of Mammalia and of such Orders of Birds as have

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[59] 10th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1862.
[60] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 14th July 1853 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[61] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 30th March 1854. A letter to Mr. Moore from James C. Melvill (Secretary of the East India House), dated 15th March 1854 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).

up to the present time been catalogued, has allowed a selection of above fifty species of Mammalia and of 140 species of Rapacious and Insessore Birds to be made for that purpose, a list of which has been drawn up and submitted by him to the Committee of the Court of Directors for approval; as soon as this approval has been obtained the specimens shall be immediately forwarded.

The greater proportion of the Mammalia are of species entirely new to the collection, as is the case with many of the Birds, ... and being named with the utmost accuracy will be of invaluable assistance in determining the species already in the Collection. As indicated above the Birds belong only to the two orders Accipites and Insessores; when the other Orders and the remaining portion of the Insessores shall be catalogued, (and they are gladly commenced upon) The Honorable Company will doubtless continue their liberality with the Duplicates of those Orders.[62]

This relationship continued through Moore's reign as curator, up to the point when the East India Museum was closed. Even then, Moore applied for some of the duplicate specimens which had been rejected by the British Museum.[63] This relationship was very successful in terms of colonial specimens gained, as well as the casts of fossils, duplicate birds and mammals, they also received 13 bottles of spirit specimens from Calcutta and a collection of insects.

Moore also built up a relationship with the Zoological Society of London, particularly at the point when the Society decided to concentrate on their live specimens, rather than those in the Museum; Moore spotting an opportunity to extend the Liverpool Museum collections. The Society was well known for its collection which constituted specimens from all around the globe and by appealing to them for specimens, Moore hoped that the Liverpool Museum would gain foreign material (a similar situation occurred at the Saffron Walden Natural History Society, see also section 4.2.1).[64] He also put the Liverpool Museum on a list which would entitle them to receive the fatalities of their zoo.[65] This relationship worked in both directions, Moore lending a number of specimens to the Zoological Society.[66] National museums were also targeted by Moore. For example, it was recorded that Moore was in contact with Dr Gunther of the British Museum regarding duplicate specimens of mammals

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[62] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd August 1855 (352 MIN/LIB1/2).
[63] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 20th November 1879 (352 MIN/LIB1/3).
[64] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th October 1854. The Keeper's report on a recent visit to London (352 MIN/LIB1/2).
[65] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th October 1854. The Keeper's report on a recent visit to London (352 MIN/LIB1/2).
[66] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 4th December 1854 (352 MIN/LIB1/2); Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 5th June 1856 (352 MIN/LIB1/3).

and insects, which he went down to London to inspect.[67]

In addition to national societies and museums, Moore also had connections with local societies and museums,[68] such as the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society,[69] the Hartley Institution Southampton[70] and the Museum at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire.[71] This was principally for the exchange of specimens. Surprisingly, in some cases these institutions supplied the Liverpool Museum with colonial material. For example, the Liverpool Institute gave the Liverpool Museum the skeleton of a hippopotamus which was recorded as, 'exceedingly interesting both in a scientific and popular point of view'.[72]

Not surprisingly, the organisations which supplied Moore with foreign material were not just those in Britain, but those which were located overseas. Moore went to every effort to contact museums throughout the globe. The majority of these museums were located in British colonies, for example, the Madras Government Central Museum,[73] the Calcutta Museum,[74] the Victoria Museum, Bombay,[75] Brisbane Museum[76] and the New Zealand Institute.[77] All of these institutions provided the Liverpool Museum with colonial material throughout the nineteenth century. Like the Zoological Society these relations were often reciprocal. For example, the Calcutta Museum agreed to send specimens (from continental India) to the Liverpool Museum in exchange for specimens (from America and the Indian Archipelago) in return.[78] In addition to museums, the Liverpool Museum also received foreign specimens from other natural history institutions and the staff who worked there. Mr John H. Holland, curator of the botanical gardens in Old Calabar (Nigeria) made three donations at the end of the nineteenth century, all from the Old Calabar. Two of these were natural history specimens (insects and a genet cat) and the other consisted of ethnographic material.

As Moore himself was a competent naturalist, it is not surprising that he was in contact with other naturalists, many of them well-known. They included J.H. Gurney,[79] Louis

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[67] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 21st October 1880 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
[68] Moore was a member of most of the local scientific societies of Liverpool, and communications from him may be found in the Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical and Geological Societies, and in the Transactions of the Historic and Biological Societies of Liverpool.
[69] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 20th May 1858 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).
[70] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 25th September 1862 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[71] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 17th October 1867 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[72] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 30th April 1863 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[73] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th June 1864 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[74] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 13th October 1864 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[75] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 8th June 1865 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[76] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 14th February 1884 (352 MIN/LIB 1/16).
[77] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 11th September 1879 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
[78] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 13th October 1864 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[79] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 5th October 1879 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
For more information on Gurney see Appendix 2.

Fraser[80] and John Gould.[81] The collection of the Liverpool Museum was an important resource for these naturalists as it contained many specimens which were important to science. Louis Fraser, for example, requested that he borrow some specimens for description and illustration in his forthcoming book on the Birds of West Africa.[82] These people (who themselves owned their own private collections containing specimens from all over the world) also acted as sources of specimens, mostly through exchange. Prof. Henry N. Moseley (1844-1891)[83] donated a specimen of *Peripatus capensis* from South Africa in 1883. The collection of Canon Henry Baker Tristram (1822-1906) FRS,[84] traveller and naturalist, was purchased by the Liverpool Museum in 1896 for £3150. He was one of the most important private collectors of natural history; his collection of bird skins contained over 20,000 specimens, representing more than 6000 species from across the globe (over 150 of these are type specimens) (Baker 1996).

6.2.5 *The purchasing power of the Museum*

Moore was given the freedom and resources to purchase material. He often used this privilege to add foreign material to the collection. He was authorized to obtain priced catalogues of natural history sales[85] and directed to examine sales of natural history which occurred in the town of Liverpool.[86] These natural history sales gave opportunities to buy less common

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[80] Louis Fraser (1831-1866) was a naturalist and museum curator, working at the museum of the Zoological Society of London. Following this appointment he traveled, carrying out an expedition to the Niger. He was also employed by the Earl of Derby to collect in North Africa. On his return to England he became a dealer in natural history opening premises in Knightsbridge and Regent Street. He wrote numerous zoological papers, the *Catalogue of the Knowsley Collections* and *Zoologia Typica* (1849) (Fisher 2004).
Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 8th January 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).

[81] See footnote 6.
Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 27th November 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).

[82] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 11th January 1883 (352 MIN/LIB 1/15).

[83] Henry Nottidge Moseley (1844-1891) was trained as a doctor but his real interest was in natural history and exploring foreign countries. He took part in expeditions, the *Eclipse* to Ceylon (1871) and the *Challenger* (1872). During these expeditions he amassed large collections of foreign natural history material. He was elected a fellow at Oxford University in 1876, using this time to write reports in the expeditions he had accompanied, however, he continued to travel. In 1879 Moseley was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, served on the council of the Royal Society, the Anthropological Institute and the Zoological Society, of which he had become a fellow in 1879. He was also a fellow of the Linnean Society from 1880 and of the Royal Geographical Society from 1881 (Woodward 2004a).

[84] Henry Baker Tristram (1822-1906) was a native of Northumberland and a well-known ornithologist. He spent much time traveling (the majority of which as a church missionary) and during this time he collected data and specimens on the natural history of these areas. He is particularly well-known for his work carried out on the natural history of Palestine. He published a number of scientific publications and books such as *Pathways of Palestine: a Descriptive Tour through the Holy Land* (1881-1882) and *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine* (1884) (Baker 1996).

[85] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 29th April 1858 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).

[86] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th November 1858 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).

specimens, especially those from overseas.[87] He regularly visited auction houses, such as Steven's auctions room.[88] One regular source of colonial material that Moore utilised was natural history dealers, both those in Liverpool and further afield.

Johann Christian Carl Jamrach (1815-1891) (referred to as Charles), an animal dealer, appears a number of times in the accession book of the Liverpool Museum (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 *Colonial purchases made by Thomas Moore from the natural history dealer Charles Jamrach.*

Year	Purchase	Place of origin
1860	two reptiles and a fish	Australia
1862	two Lepidoptera	West Africa
1884	large and very perfect skull of hippopotamus	Africa
1885	Python	India

Jamrach was known as one of the most successful wild animal dealers of his time, supplying zoos (including the zoo of the Zoological Society of London) and menageries throughout the country (as well as those abroad) with specimens. He set up his premises on Ratcliffe Highway, opposite the London Docks. This was the perfect location allowing Jamrach to buy specimens from sailors as ships entered the port (Blunt 1976: 52; Assael 2004). Mr Jamrach was obviously aware that Moore was prepared to purchase specimens from him as he contacted him to offer the skin and skeleton of a giraffe. This offer however was declined.[89]

Jamrach was not the only animal dealer that Moore made use of. Somewhat closer to home, were James & William Cross (father and son), menagerist and animal dealers based at Cross' Menagerie and Museum on Earle Street, Liverpool. Between the years of 1864 and 1896 the accession registers note a total of 38 colonial acquisitions purchased from William and James Cross. These included a range of zoological specimens, from a terrapin to an African elephant. The majority however were from Africa, which probably reflects the connections which Liverpool had with Africa via the port. As Jamrach exploited his position close to the port of London, the Cross' exploited their position close to the port of Liverpool. He had agents located across the globe and supplied zoos all over the country (as well as abroad):

> in every country under the sun – especially if that country be uncivilised – are Cross's agents to be found, middle-men between the hunters or trappers and the ubiquitous naturalist in Liverpool. (Tebbutt c1915: 2)

[87] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 18th June 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/9).
[88] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 17th June 1880 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
[89] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 13th August 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).

This business was very successful and profitable. In the 1880s, lions were selling for £250 and laughing hyenas for £15, Cross supplying a number of institutions and high calibre people including the Prince of Wales:

> From the comparatively small establishment in Earle Street all species of beasts, bird, reptile and fish are dispatched to menageries, museum, aquariums, scientific institutions and also to wealthy private patrons.[90]

Cross worked on a very large scale, for example one shipment which he received was of 600 monkeys (Tebbutt c1915: 100). As seen with Jamrach, there is evidence of Cross contacting Moore telling him that he had a stuffed tiger for sale.[91] It may have been that Moore issued him with a list of specimens that he required, or that Cross was aware of the type of specimens which he was interested in.

Mr George Hulse was another importer of animals who supplied the Liverpool Museum with colonial material. His premises were located on Dale Street, Liverpool and he was quite unique; after starting his business importing live zoological specimens, he eventually changed direction and dedicated his business to the importation of turtles (predominantly as culinary delicacies). Hulse supplied zoological gardens throughout the country with specimens, including the Tower of London, until his eldest son was actually attacked by one of the lions. After this incident, the menagerie was closed (all its contents distributed both to establishments in this country and around the world) and from 1865 it housed only turtles.[92] Before this change in business occurred, the Liverpool Museum was one of the institutions which Hulse supplied. During the 1850s and 1860s seven colonial specimens were purchased from him, the majority of which were African birds and mammals (again this could reflect the trade links which the port of Liverpool had with West Africa).

Mr Leyland (1820-ca1900) (he collected in South Africa 1848-52 and Honduras 1854-6; McMillan 1996: 138), another natural history dealer who was based in Liverpool, was an important source of colonial material for the Museum. Again, it seems that material from West Africa dominated (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 *Colonial purchases made by Thomas Moore from the natural history dealer Joseph Leyland.*

Year	Purchase	Place of origin
1858	two terns and five kingfishers	Africa
1858	echidna	Australia
1859	reptiles and insects	West Africa

[90] *The Liverpool Review* 28th April 1888, page 3.
[91] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 14th October 1869 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).
[92] *The Liverpool Citizen* 1st October 1887, pages 6-7.

Year	Purchase	Place of origin
1859	python	Bombay, India
1859	flying fish, snake, young turtle	Bonny River, West Africa
1859	kangaroo	Australia
1861	head of a black bok	Africa
1864	a viviera	West Africa
1873	jaws of a rare shark	India
1873	crocodile egg	Africa

Cross, Hulse, Leyland and Jamrach were all suppliers of natural history material. Although not as common, there is evidence that Moore purchased ethnographic material from dealers. For example, in 1889 he purchased a hippopotamus tusk and snuff box from West and South Africa from a Mr Reginald R. Cross. Cross was actually a dealer in antiquities and works of art. He was a well-informed art critic and antiquarian, his shop housing many curious articles. These included pictures, rare books, bric-a-brac, furniture, clocks, gold and silver, as well as china (Orchard 1893: 258-259).

It seems that money was an important factor in the acquisition of colonial material as colonial specimens were purchased almost every week.[93] Without financial backing, Moore would not have been able to exploit the many sales of natural history specimens which took place, or the animal importers situated in both Liverpool and London. In addition to using this network of natural history suppliers located in England to provide the Museum with colonial material, Moore also had his own network of people who travelled abroad and were given money to purchase specimens. For example, in 1862 a letter was read from a J.Y. Johnson offering to collect marine specimens from Madeira as on previous occasions at cost price. It was resolved that this would be accepted but limited to £15.[94] This was quite a common occurrence, a number of people offering to collect for the Museum whilst abroad, if they were paid.[95] Robert Bruce Napoleon Walker acted as a supplier of colonial specimens, on occasions procuring specimens on behalf of the Museum for a price. For example, in 1869 he bought the skin and perfect skeleton of a lamantin (manatee) for $30.[96] One of the ways which Moore encouraged Walker to donate specimens was to give him equipment with which he could collect and store specimens.[97] Over the years Walker made a number of requests to the Museum for preserving equipment, which were granted.[98] He even requested a loan of books on the subject of Africa.[99]

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[93] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 13th August 1868 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).
[94] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 25th September 1862 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[95] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 25th August 1881 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
[96] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 18th March 1869 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).
[97] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 7th March 1863 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[98] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 30th March 1865 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6) and 9th May 1867 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[99] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 23rd March 1876 (352 MIN/LIB 1/10).

The equipment Moore gave out ranged from rather general material useful when collecting, 'a box of collecting material' which was given the Queen's advocate at Bathurst [river] Gambia[100] and boxes and bottles which were given to Prof. A. Ernest of Caracas,[101] to more specific instruments such as microscopes. For example, it was decided that:

> A small microscope not to exceed five pounds to be procured for Captain Barry ship "Richard Cobden" to aid him in his researches and in acknowledgment of his kind services in collecting marine specimens for the Museum, several of which (*Sphenopus marsupialis*, rare *Serpentaria Berryi* and *Spatangus variegatus* both new to science) have lately been described and figured in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London for 1866/7 by Dr Gray and Dr Baird.[102]

Moore even lent out dredges to a man called Mr Reginald Cholmondeley who was about to sail for India and the East.[103] Moore may have adapted the idea of encouraging people to collect by giving them equipment from the microscopical section of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, as it was reported in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* that they distributed envelopes among sea captains which could be used to preserve material for microscopic examination.[104] From the period of January 1880 to July 1883, Moore spent £55.5.2 on materials for collectors.[105]

6.2.6 Living museums

Museums were not the only institutions which were based on collections of animals from around the globe. The nineteenth century also saw the rise of zoos and menageries (see section 1.6.4).[106] Unlike museums they were based on live animals rather than dead ones (note that some museums did exhibit live animals, for example, the Liverpool Museum had an aquarium exhibiting species from around the globe).[107] These institutions proved an important source of material for the Liverpool Museum. The death and loss of an animal by a zoo or menagerie was the possible gain of a museum. This was the case for the Liverpool Zoological

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[100] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 8th December 1864 (352 MIN/LIB 1/6).
[101] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 16th May 1878 (352 MIN/LIB 1/12).
[102] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 4th July 1867 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[103] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 14th August 1879 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
[104] Seventh ordinary meeting of the LPLS (21st January 1861), Proceedings of the LPLS during the 55th session (1860-61) 15.
[105] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd August 1883 (352 MIN/LIB 1/15).
[106] More information on the history of menageries can be found: Animal magic?
A brief history of the British travelling menagerie [Online]. Available:
http://www.thegalloper.com/menageries/0404menaghistory.html [Accessed 23 February 2005].
[107] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 27th August 1874 (352 MIN/LIB 1/10).

Gardens and the Liverpool Museum. Between the years of 1854 and 1857 Thomas Atkins, the proprietor of the Liverpool Zoological Gardens, made regular appearances on the list of colonial donations made to the Liverpool Museum (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 *Colonial donations made to the Liverpool Museum by Thomas Atkins, proprietor of the Liverpool Zoological Gardens.*

Year	Donation	Origin of specimen(s)
1854	black swan	Australia
1855	civet cat	West Africa
1855	crocodile	West Africa
1855	lizard	Australia
1855	velvet monkey	South Africa
1856	*Cercocebus fulliseuosus* (primate) and still-born lion cub (bred at the zoological gardens)	Africa
1856	kangaroo	Australia
1856	*Paradoxaic typus*	India
1857	green monkey	South Africa
1857	a bird	Australia
1858	lion cub	Africa

Thomas Atkins started his career as the owner of a touring menagerie, and was a great rival of George Wombwell (also a menagerie owner; see section 1.6.4). His exhibits included a 10 foot high elephant and a lion tamer. It was not until 1833 that he established the Liverpool Zoological Gardens. This was one of the earliest gardens to be established in the UK, the others being the London Gardens, Dublin Zoological Gardens and Surrey Zoological and Botanical Gardens. Rather than continuing to travel Atkins decided to settle down, purchasing 10 acres of disused land not far from the Liverpool Exchange, along with numerous specimens to add to those which he already possessed (Stonehouse 2002: 116-121). He used similar tactics to the Liverpool Museum and the natural history dealers Jamrach and Cross to obtain foreign specimens, exploiting the connections he had with foreign lands via the port of Liverpool:

> Like Mr Cross, he would travel long distances and visit many foreign countries in search of "specimens" and when captains of ships arriving from abroad reported any wild animals, birds, or reptiles amongst their cargoes, Mr. Atkins would be sure to board their ships and secure the objects for his menagerie.[108]

Indeed, only a few years after its initial opening it was expected that the zoo would be very successful, containing rare specimens from throughout the world owing to its location in Liverpool:

[108] *The Liverpool Citizen* 24th October 1888 page 6.

> The collection is already rich, but from the facilities of Liverpool as a sea-port, and the liberal patronage which the undertaking may be expected to receive, there is no doubt it will exhibit many valuable additions. (Anon 1837: 100)

Atkins' Zoological Gardens included a pond for wading-birds and waterfowl, bear pits, an elephant house (housing three Indian elephants), aviaries (which included birds of prey), a monkey house, an ungulate house, as well as space for big cats. Some of the animals which Atkins purchased were exhibited in zoos across Britain, such as a rhinoceros shipped from Calcutta. Atkins also interbred animals creating a number of strange hybrids. These bizarre sights were very popular with the viewer who paid upon entrance (1 shilling), or could purchase an annual pass (£1.1.0). Atkins left the zoo in the late 1850s before it was taken over by a share-holding company. It closed in 1863 owing to bankruptcy (Stonehouse 2002: 116-121).

Clearly Atkins held a great variety of animals in his zoo, imported from all over the world. This was a perfect source of colonial specimens for the Liverpool Museum, which rather than being thousands of miles away, were located in the same city. In the case of Atkins' Zoological Gardens, Moore was following in the footsteps of the Earl of Derby. Atkins was:

> much noticed by the Earl of Derby, who frequently consulted him about his own collection, exchanged animals with him, purchased from him, or made him presents from his own duplicates. (*ibid.*: 116)

The Liverpool Museum also received minor donations from another menagerie, Maunder's Menageries, who donated a chimpanzee from West Africa, a kangaroo from Australia in 1859, and an African lion in 1861.

6.2.7 Expeditions

The nineteenth century marked an era of exploration and discovery. People were eager to find out about their environment and this could be fulfilled by undertaking expeditions (see section 1.8.1). Expeditions were carried out both by the government and private parties. They were used as a means to accumulate specimens on a large scale, often from places which had been relatively unexplored The Liverpool Museum benefited from a number of expeditions throughout the nineteenth century. A number of people who were pursuing their own private

expeditions offered the Liverpool Museum first choice of specimens which they collected. These included collections from all over the world, including the British colonies. For example in 1869, a cabinet of insects chiefly collected by an expedition sent in 1840 from Knowsley to the interior of South Africa, was donated to the Liverpool Museum.[109] A number of objects were presented to the Museum by a Mr J.A. Tinné which were collected by his wife and daughter during expeditions made into the interior of Africa and other places in Africa.[110] Alexandrine Tinné inherited a large amount of money from her father, who was a successful merchant, and used it to carry out a number of expeditions to the African interior (Hunt 1972: 48-49).

The Museum became actively involved in a number of these expeditions; it was not simply the case of receiving specimens on the completion of the expedition. For example, in 1870, it was reported that Reginald Cholmondeley of Coudover Hall, Shropshire, who was about to proceed on a scientific expedition in a large steam yacht 'Argo' to the West Indies, offered the Museum special facilities for collecting during this voyage. He offered to give berths and free quarters on board his yacht to someone from the Museum and two assistants, with the specimens collected to be divided according to arrangement. This offer was accepted, Rev. H.H. Higgins and John Chard and James Woods (who were appointed as his assistants) accompanying the expedition. The Museum also paid £50 for expenses.[111] The voyage lasted for four months and included stops on the West Indian Islands and Philadelphia. The voyage was fruitful in terms of specimens, Mr Higgins making extensive collections of fish, insects, crustaceans, shells, corals and sponges.[112] The annual report of 1877 reported that, 'every opportunity was taken for the acquisition of specimens in all departments of natural history'.

It could be expected that it was only the British Museum that benefited from government-sponsored expeditions in terms of gaining specimens, but this was not the case. As a consequence of a number of government-sponsored expeditions, some very valuable specimens were offered to the Liverpool Museum. For example, in 1857 a Mr Selin Aga, who was about to accompany a government expedition to the River Niger, offered to collect specimens of natural history for the Museum.[113] In 1870 they received a number of specimens collected on the *Porcupine* dredging expedition in the North Atlantic.[114] They actively applied to the Admiralty for collections made on expeditions, such as those made during the

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[109] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 1st July 1869 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).
[110] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 6th October 1870 (352 MIN/LIB 1/10) and 23rd December (352 MIN/LIB 1/8).
[111] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th December 1875 (352 MIN/LIB 1/10) and 23rd December (352 MIN/LIB 1/12).
[112] 24th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1876.
[113] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 2nd April 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).
[114] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 8th September 1870 (352 MIN/LIB 1/8).

expedition of the *Challenger*.[115] In the year 1888 a joint expedition was carried out by the British Museum (Natural History) and Liverpool Museum to Sokotra, an island 120 miles from the Cape of Guardafui, East Africa. At the time it was under the protection of Great Britain. Mr. W.R. Ogilvie Grant of the British Museum (ornithological department) and Dr. H.O. Forbes (1851-1932), Director of the Liverpool Museum were part of the expedition, as was the taxidermist of the Liverpool Museum, J.W. Cutmore, presumably to prepare and conserve specimens which were caught. It was aided by a contribution from the Royal Society, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science.[116] Extensive collections of the wildlife of the island were made and a complete account was published in a *Special Bulletin of the Liverpool Museum* (Ford 1955: 13-14). They collected mammals, birds (300 specimens), reptiles, insects (several thousands), landshells and geological specimens as well as a small ethnographical collection.[117]

6.2.8 The Mayer Museum

Up until this point natural history material has been used to illustrate the flow of colonial material to the Liverpool Museum. This is partially because the majority of material accessioned by the Liverpool Museum was natural history, which made up 82% of colonial acquisitions, compared to ethnography which made up only 18%. On its establishment, the Museum only contained natural history material as this was what the Earl of Derby's collection consisted of. However, things did not stay that way, especially after a donation was made by Mr Mayer, which led to the establishment of the Mayer Museum. In 1856 Joseph Mayer decided to donate his very large personal collection (one of the most important in England) of objects illustrative of the arts and manufactures of various nations around the world to the Liverpool Museum. The Mayer Museum was opened on 10th June 1867,[118] although it was not until 1879 that the Mayer collection, and other antiquities, were grouped together into a new department with Mr Charles Gatty appointed as curator.[119]

Following the donation made by Mr Mayer, and the establishment of the new department, the number of ethnographic acquisitions made by the Museum increased, conversely the number of natural history acquisitions decreased (Figure 6.4).

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[115] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 5th December 1878 (352 MIN/LIB 1/8).
[116] 47th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1899.
[117] 47th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1899.
[118] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th April 1856 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).
[119] 27th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1879-80.

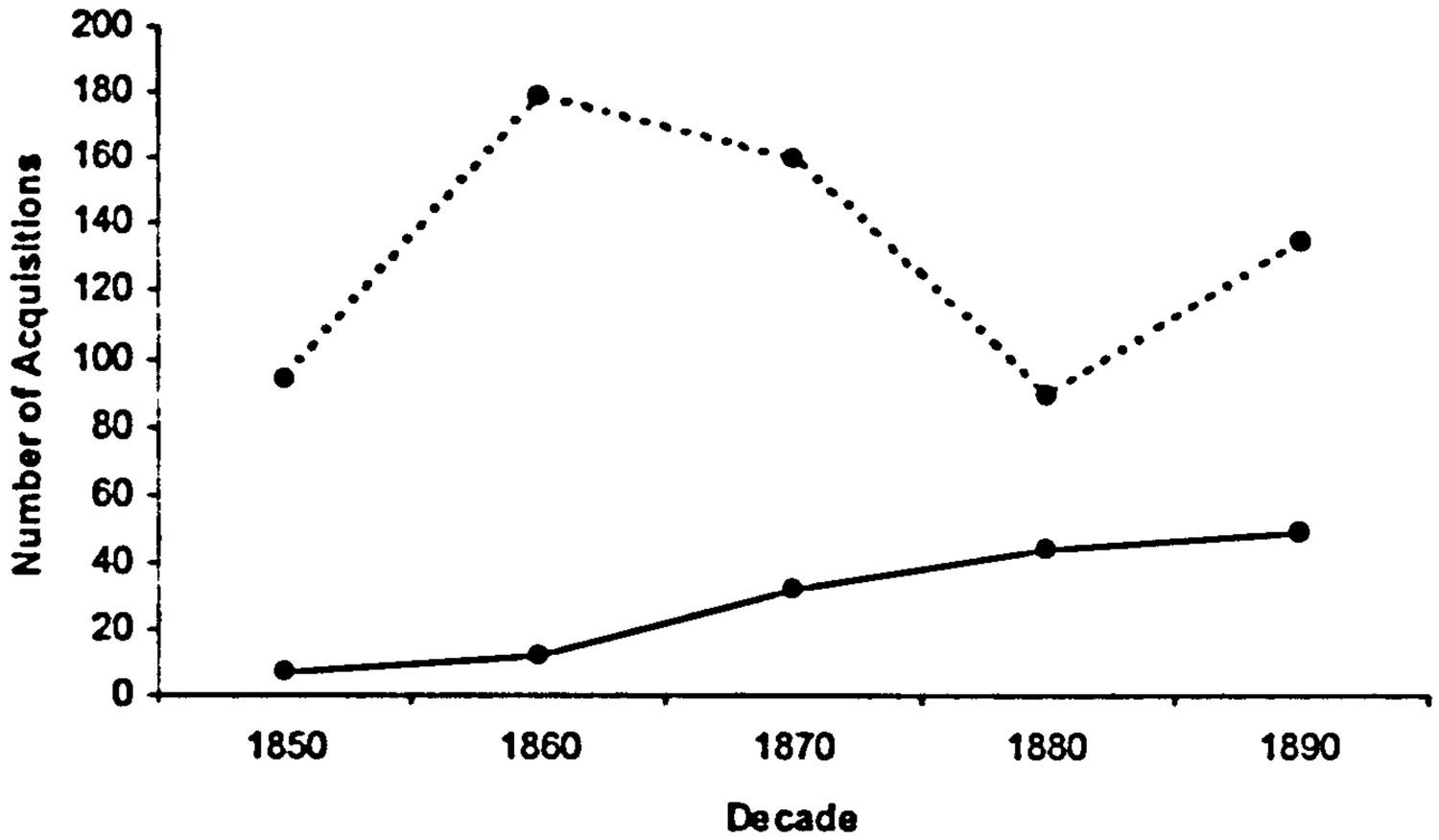

Figure 6.4 Colonial (Australia, Indian and African) ethnographic (solid line) and natural history (dashed line) acquisitions received by the Liverpool Museum from 1853 to 1900.

From this point the importance of ethnography within the Liverpool Museum did seem to rise. In 1868 Moore visited the British Museum to view the large ethnological collection donated by Mr H. Christy. Mr A. Franks (curator at the British Museum and trustee of the collection bequeathed by Mr Christy) was keen to exchange duplicates with Moore.[120] Mr Franks spent several days at the Mayer Museum examining the collection of native weapons and implements, at the end of which he proposed an exchange of a dozen duplicate specimens of spears and paddles. This was agreed to by Moore.[121]

It seems however, that even up to the 1880s ethnographic material was only incorporated into temporary displays. For example, a temporary exhibition which included ethnography, 'Prehistoric Antiquities and Ethnography', was held in 1881. This was placed in the Walker Art Gallery (next door to the Liverpool Museum), probably owing to a lack of space in the Museum itself (Tythacott 1998: 22). A letter written by a Mr James Samuelson suggested that the ethnographic exhibition was made into a permanent one. This suggests that this material was popular:

> We have a beautiful Natural History Museum it is true, but that is not peculiar to Liverpool. If however you made so much of the present Ethnographical Exhibition as can be permanently acquired the nucleus of a larger one I don't hesitate to say that any Geographical position and the known public spirit of our traders would soon enable us to boast of an Institution little, if at all, inferior in its way to the Museum of

[120] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 9th January 1868 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).
[121] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 30th January 1868 (352 MIN/LIB 1/7).

Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen.[122]

The temporary display was so successful that it was decided that an annexe should be created behind the Walker Art Gallery to allow the permanent display of these collections.[123] This was opened in the following year (1878), only to be followed by an announcement that it had to be temporarily removed owing to an extension which was being made to the Art Gallery.[124] The remaining years of the decade left the collection waiting for suitable space where it could be permanently displayed. During this time however, it was the ethnographical department of the Mayer Museum which was developing and receiving additions at the quickest rate.[125] This may have been facilitated by the new curator, Dr. Henry Ogg Forbes (appointed in 1894), who was known to have an interest in ethnography and African Art (he came from an academic background in anthropology) (Tythacott 1998: 22). By the 1890s it was announced that:

> After a period of ten years, the Ethnographical Collection is to be placed on exhibition in rooms specially prepared for its reception. During this time it has been stowed away, numerous interesting groups of objects have been added by donation and purchase, and the collection when set out, will, it is believed, rank next in importance to that of the National Collection.[126]

It was reported in the annual report of 1895-96 that the ethnographical gallery was complete and opened on 19th June by the Lord Mayor.[127]

6.2.9 Other sources of colonial material

Up until this point the colonial material acquired by the Liverpool Museum has been attributed to donations made by those connected with the shipping industry of Liverpool, and from museums, scientific societies and zoos located both in Britain and throughout the world.

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[122] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 17th July 1880, letter from Mr James Samuelson to Mr James Picton, dated June 16th 1880 (352 MIN/LIB 1/13).
The collection of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen are now held in Princens Palace.
[123] 28th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1880-81.
[124] 29th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1881-82.
[125] 32nd Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1884-5.
[126] 41st Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1893-4.
[127] 43rd Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1895-6.

Natural history dealers have also been identified as an important source from which colonial material could be purchased. This is only a selection of the sources from which the Museum gained colonial material. This section will further reveal the great diversity of people who donated colonial material to the Museum, both those who had direct and indirect connections with the colonies.

The Liverpool Museum gained specimens from those who worked out in the colonies. Members of the army supplied the Liverpool Museum with colonial specimens. Army captains, such as Captain Edmund Smyth (13th Bengal Infantry) provided the Museum with some valuable specimens. Smyth donated a yak and other ruminating animals shot by himself in the Himalayas in 1856. He also sent specimens to a number of other museums in the country (see section 8.4.2). However, from the letter which Smyth sent to Mr Moore, it seems that the Liverpool Museum was the principal destination for his specimens:

> I am going back to India, almost immediately and shall proceed to my old haunts in the Himalaya Mountains and Thibet as soon as I can, and I hope to get more specimens of rare Animals for your Museum. I will promise that the very best shall be sent to Liverpool before any other Museum.[128]

Major C.B. Lyster of the 2nd West India Regiment made two donations comprising of natural history specimens from West Africa. Lieut-Colonel John Pilkington, who was in command of the 15th Lancashire Rifle Volunteers (Pike 1911: 168-169) made a donation of a civet cat from Africa to the Museum in 1885. Another high commanding army official, Lieut-Col Swinhoe, in the same year donated a collection of Indian birds. Army members also provided the Museum with ethnographic collections, Captain E.C. Elliston of the Bengal Staff Corps donated shields spears and earrings collected from the natives of the Naga Hills of India in 1882. It is interesting that all these army donors are high-ranking officials. However, these people are most easily noticed as members of the army owing to their titles, such as Lieutenant-Colonel or Captain. Other 'ordinary' army members may have donated material, but may not have been identified owing to the fact that they do not have such titles (see section 9.3.1 for further discussion).

Army medical officers were providers not only of natural history but also ethnographic material. Dr John M. Jones collected a number of ethnographical items, fighting sticks and war and head dresses, to name a few. These were collected during the Zulu War when he was a medical officer to the 4th Battalion Natal native infantry. Dr Percy Rendall, a medical officer, donated a large collection of coleoptera and birds skins from South Africa in

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[128] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 31st July 1857, letter from Captain Edmund Smyth to Mr Moore, dated 31st July 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).

1895, followed by an ethnographic collection in 1896 from British East Africa. Rendall must have been a keen collector as papers were written on the collections which he made; fish from British Central Africa (which he presented to the British Museum),[129] an ornithological collection which he collected from Lake Nyasa[130] and Arachnida taken from Transvaal and Nyasaland.[131] Francis Day (1829-1889) was also a medical officer who throughout his career made very large and scientifically important collections of fish (see section 1.8.3). Day donated 23 fish from Madras to the Museum in 1866, and seven fish, two starfish and five crustaceans (again from India) in 1883.

These donations are all exclusively from Africa and India. This was possibly owing to the fact that Australia did not have the same army presence. The Liverpool Museum however did gain Australian collections from people employed in others fields of work. For example, Miss Amy Parker donated some stone implements from Australia in 1882 which were actually collected by Mr Pimock who was a police magistrate at Brisbane. Other official positions held by civil servants out in the colonies of Africa and India, also provided the Museum with colonial material. Herbert Taylor Ussher (1836-1880), who was colonial administrator (1867-1872) and governor (1879-1880) of the Gold Coast, donated a collection of birds and fish from Africa in 1864. Ussher was a naturalist and collector:

> Mr. Ussher had a very fine puff adder, eight feet in length, in a cage in his verandah. It had been captured in the neighbourhood, and the natives brought all such prizes to the Governor knowing him to be a collector. (Dyer 1876: 29)

A number of species were named after him, for example, a swift *Telacanthura ussheri* Sharpe, 1870 and Ussher's Flycatcher, *Muscicapa ussheri*.

The list of civil servants who donated colonial material to the Liverpool Museum continues, Mr R.H. Adams, a surveyor of salt tax in Madras, India, donated a sun bird from that area in 1894 and a Mr Anderson, manager of the Oriental Bank (located in India), donated two skulls of a crocodile and gavial from Calcutta in 1863. Sir Proby Thomas Cautley (1802-1871), whose connections with India started when he entered the country as a second lieutenant in 1818, marked the beginning of a long association with the country. His work in the army did not last long. Cautley became employed as a civil engineer, in particular

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[129] Boulenger, G.A. (1897) 'Descriptions of new fishes from the upper Shiré River, British Central Africa, collected by Dr. Percy Rendall, and presented to the British Museum by Sir Harry H. Johnston, K.C.B', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* 1896 (part 4): 915-920.
[130] Hartert, E. (1898) 'List of an ornithological collection made by Dr Percy Rendall on the Upper Shire River, near Fort Johnston, and on the shores of the southern part of Lake Nyasa', *Novit. Zool. Tring* 5:70-83.
[131] Pocock R.I. (1898) 'On the Arachnida taken in the Transvaal and in Nyasaland by Mr. W. L. Distant and Dr. Percy Rendall' *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*.

he was involved in hydraulic engineering and building canals. He was not only known for his engineering skills but his large palaeontological collection which he formed whilst in India. He had an interest in the subject, and after making the acquaintance of Hugh Falconer (1808-1865),[132] he set off on an expedition to the Siwalik Hills, and together they made large collections of fossil remains. Cautley first offered these collections to the Geological Society of London, which they declined. They were therefore offered and accepted by the British Museum, a total of 214 cases were shipped back to the British Museum and 22 to the India House. He also donated a large collection of fossil remains to the Liverpool Museum in 1856. His connection with the Liverpool Museum however remains a mystery. It seems that he did not live in the area; he was actually brought up in Suffolk as a child. He was primarily keen to donate to national museums, so the fact that Liverpool received some of his collections illustrates the calibre of the Museum and the specimens it contained (McConnell 2004).

Mr J.G.C. Harrison, who is recorded in the accession book as King of Kaputa (a small town in Zambia), made four moderately large donations of ethnographic material to the Museum. These consisted of jewellery, spears and everyday objects such as knives and caps. Unfortunately, although King of Kaputa, no information has been found regarding his life. Obviously, the fact that he was called a king, points to the fact that he lived and worked out in Kaputa and presumably this is where the collections came from. He was most likely a governor or administrator who was proclaimed King by the people of Kaputa. If he was a leader, he would have been well respected by the people of the area and so some of the items which he donated to the Museum may well have been given to him as gifts. Another leader, C.A. Molony, Govenor of Lagos, provided the Museum with material; in this case it was not ethnographic but natural history material. He collected butterflies from the area which he governed, and donated them to the Liverpool Museum in 1890 through T.H. Baker, Secretary of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.

As already mentioned, one reason why so many people emigrated to Australia was owing to the gold rush (see section 3.2.2). Mr John Greenwood, who was formerly of Liverpool, moved out to Australia to become a gold miner and made four donations to the Liverpool Museum (1879, 1881, 1889 and 1890), all geological, which is not surprising considering his job. His first donation was a huge collection of Australian minerals and geological specimens with which he included labels and an accompanying catalogue.

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[132] Hugh Falconer (1808-1865) was a naturalist and palaeontologist. He studied at Edinburgh University were he obtained his MD degree. He spent time in India, firstly employed as a surgeon with the East India Company before working for the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He carried out much work on the fossils found in the Siwalik Hills and Falconer and Cautley received the Wollaston medal of the Geological Society of London in 1837 for their efforts (Moore 2004).

Not only did those who lived and worked out in the colonies donate colonial material to the Liverpool Museum, but also those who travelled to these countries. For example Moore reported that:

> Mr St. George Littledale and Mr Hush Heywood Jones have liberally added to the Corporation Collection by the gift of specimens of rarity and importance obtained by them in their recent travels in India, Cachmere and Thibet, stimulated thereto by the desire to add rare forms not in the Derby Collection.[133]

Mr H. Heywood Jones made a number of expeditions out to India to study the ornithology of the area. His collections of bird skins from India and Palestine were bequeathed to the Museum on his death by his brother, but he also donated specimens whilst he was alive, such as the heads and horns of games specimens which he had shot.[134] Local worthies who travelled were also keen to collect and donate material to the Museum. Benjamin Bamber Gardner was an Alderman of Liverpool for 25 years and Mayor in 1862-3, and throughout his life he travelled extensively. He visited places such as Algeria, Egypt, Madeira, the Canary Islands, the West Coast of Africa and South America, as well as a number of European countries (Pike 1903: 170). However, the only colonial donation he made to the Museum was a penguin from Australia, although no evidence has been found to prove he ever travelled there. Similarly, Charles Pierre Melly (1829-1888), who was well-known in Liverpool as a councillor and philanthropist (he was promoter of primary school education, involved in the building of water fountains, benches, the establishment of Sefton Park, as well as many local charities), travelled to Egypt (a family member was the sole agent of the Egyptian Government in England) and Europe (Melly 1889: 179-181). However, in the accession books he is recorded as donating specimens of sponges from Western Australia in 1873 and 1877, again a place that he did not travel to.

Many people who it seems never left the shores of England also donated colonial material to the Liverpool Museum. Their lack of travel does not seem to have hindered their ability to acquire colonial material. For example, Thomas Miller, an engineer and designer of electricity supply works and electric tramways, donated an axe, toothbrush, whip of hippopotamus hide, rude comb and dagger from West Africa in 1893. There is no evidence that he travelled, although his father (T. Miller of W.C. Miller and Sons shipbuilders) and grandfather (Edward McKeverigan of the firm of Clayton and McKeverigan, shipbuilders, Birkenhead) had shipping connections, as they both owned ship building firms (Pike 1911:

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[133] Derby Collection of Natural History in the Liverpool Free Public Museum. Keepers Half Yearly Reports to the Trustees 18th April, 1876.
[134] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 20th January 1887 (352 MIN/LIB 1/18).

266). A common donor of colonial material were those involved in the running of Liverpool such as councillors and JPs. Edmund K. Musprat JP, who played a role in the formation of Liverpool University, donated a small collection of samples of gold quartz from the Malmani River in the Marico district in Transvaal, Africa, in 1890. Councillor A.C. Steward made two donations, both from South Africa; two gorgonians and two isis (coral) in 1865, and an aardvark in 1869. How they got hold of this material is unknown. Their jobs however, and some of the activities they were involved in during their spare time imply that they were interested in improving the city of Liverpool. One of the ways which they could do this was by donating valuable specimens to the Museum. The following section will look at why the Museum encouraged and accepted the acquisition of this colonial material.

6.2.10 Colonial specimens: an integral part of the Museum

As already stated, the overall mission of the Liverpool Museum was to educate (see section 6.1.3). The scientific content of the Museum was therefore very important. To have complete scientific collections, it was necessary to have collections from all over the world, giving a global view. The Museum wanted to be as scientifically up-to-date as possible, which meant acquiring newly-discovered specimens, many of which were rare:

> Through the kind offer of Mr Steains active steps have been taken by J.A. Tobin esq. with a view to obtaining for the new museum an actual male specimen of the Gorilla or newly discovered Giant chimpanzee of the South West Coast of Africa. This Animal ranks next to Man and it is remarkable for its great size and strength as well as for its extreme rarity only two stuffed specimens being known to exist in Europe one of which has lately been obtained for the British Museum and has been lectured on by Professor Owen at the Royal Institution London and the Zoological Society.[135]

Colonial donations played an important role in promoting the scientific function of the Museum. Many of the colonial collections acquired by the Museum allowed gaps in scientific knowledge to be filled. For example the donation of polyzoa from South Australia made by Captain Cawne Warren:

> The collection of *Polyzoa*, chiefly from Bass's Straits, which he has presented to the Free Museum, and upon which I have been asked to report, is a large and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the fauna of the South Australian waters. It has also

[135] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 1st April 1859 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).

> supplied me with some structural and physiological facts of much significance, and has therefore more than a merely faunistic interest. (Hincks 1880: 249)

Moore, who in many ways was responsible for the acquisition of colonial material, also played an important role in making the Liverpool Museum become one of the most important in terms of the amount of scientific material it held, and knowledge it produced. His first job was to name the numerous specimens in the Derby collection which had not been identified. To do this he had to purchase numerous zoological books,[136] for example Gould's *Birds of Australia.*[137] At this point in time only birds from Australia and Europe had been fully illustrated and described by Gould; no-one had done this for the birds of Asia, Africa or America, so Moore did not have an easy job. He made numerous visits to the British Museum which allowed him to compare specimens and therefore identify them.[138] He was keen to identify specimens as soon as possible as he commented that:

> the greater the delay in naming the species, the greater the probability that such as are new may be discovered by Naturalists in other collections thus depriving both the museum and myself of the credit of which both I and it might otherwise obtain.[139]

This clearly illustrates Moore's desire for the Liverpool Museum to be at the forefront of scientific developments.

The Museum also brought with it the ability to fulfil civic pride. It was thought that the state of the Museum reflected the general state of Liverpool, therefore by improving the Museum, for example, by putting it at the forefront of science, this was also improving the image of the city:

> An extension of the Museums is a matter of urgent importance, as it is certainly a reflection upon the City that the scientific value of one of the finest natural history collections in the world is lost for want of space for its proper arrangement.[140]

The British Museum, which was often the museum to which the Liverpool Museum was compared, seems to have influenced the Liverpool Museum in a number of ways. Firstly, it was used as a font of knowledge, staff from the Liverpool Museum often visiting museums in London to inspect collections and displays:

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[136] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 29th June 1852 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[137] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 20th July 1854 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[138] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 23rd June 1853 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[139] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 15th June 1854 (352 MIN/LIB 1/2).
[140] 42nd Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1894.

> Resolved that Peter Entwhistle visit London for the purpose of inspecting and making notes on the ethnographical collections at the colonial exhibition and the newly opened ethnographical gallery in the BM and that the sum of £5 be allowed for his expenses not exceeding a week.[141]

The British Museum was also used as a comparison in terms of the number of visitors they received, for example, one of the annual reports stated that:

> The numbers [of visitors] however compare favourably with those of the British Museum of Natural History in London, for the daily average in 1886, as gathered from the Return to the House of Commons, dated May 10th, 1887 amounted to 1,234, while the daily average to this Museum amounted to 1,688 for the same period.[142]

In this case, it seems that the Liverpool Museum were as successful if not more successful in terms of the number of visitors they received. On a number of occasions it was recorded that the Museum received so many visitors that they had to close the doors.[143] Also, like the British Museum, the Liverpool Museum attracted visitors not just from the town of Liverpool, the majority of visitors in the summer months visiting from all over the country.[144] If the Liverpool Museum did use the British Museum as a role model or competitive figure, it is not surprising that they wanted to enhance their foreign collections, as this material comprised the core of their collection (see section 3.3).

In addition to using colonial collections to raise their scientific status, they could also be used to raise the popularity of the Museum with the public, as many of these colonial specimens proved very popular with the viewer.[145] Colonial collections were displayed throughout the Museum, both systematically, as well as in diorama style settings:

> The Museum possesses a large number of skins, in part from the original Derby Collection, which have since been added to. In stuffing and preparing these for exhibition attention is being paid to the pictorial grouping and natural surroundings ... The mounting of stuffed specimens, so as to show, where possible, the male, female and young with natural surroundings, and artistically displayed, was

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[141] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 26th August 1886 (352 MIN/LIB 1/18).
[142] 35th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1887.
[143] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 20th August 1863 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[144] 4th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1856.
[145] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 1st April 1859 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).

commenced in the Museum as far back as 1865 with a group of the Common Bald Coot. Other groups have been similarly mounted from time to time for several years past. Among the latest are Pictorial groups of the Common Pheasant, Gold and Amherst Pheasants, the Talogalla, or so called Brush Turkey, and other Mound-making Birds of Australia, New Guinea, and neighbouring islands, groups of Guillemots and other Sea-birds; also Chamois and Ibexes from the Caucasus, and examples of all so-called Flying Mammals. Such groups arrest attention, give life to a collection, and add greatly to the instructiveness of the specimens so displayed.[146]

Colonial specimens comprised a large proportion of the display space and were seen as an important part of the display, for example, African antelopes which were to be set up and displayed were predicted to be, 'amongst the most striking objects exhibited'.[147] Complaints were often made by members of the Library and Museum Committee that there was not enough space to exhibit colonial material. These complaints were not only about the space available at that moment in time, but the space needed for future specimens which would enter the Museum. This indicates that they had no concerns about the future availability of colonial material.[148]

The display (and collection) of colonial material was markedly different to that of local material. Although local material was also collected and displayed in the Museum, it is evident that the great time and effort spent on the collection and display of foreign material may have been to the detriment of local collections. The Museum guide of 1869 describes numerous rooms of foreign specimens with only one room dedicated to British mammals, birds and fish (Ford 1955: 4-5). It was not until the end of the century when some of the galleries were being redisplayed that the lack of local collections was noted, and appeals were made to encourage the donation of natural history specimens from the local area:

> Our more pressing desiderata are some of the commonest objects of our coasts and fields. It is to be hoped that all friends of the Museum, especially all local collectors, into whose hand this report may come, will, when opportunity occurs, kindly aid in filling up our various gaps, by forwarding freshly-collected specimens to the Director. It affords the Director great satisfaction to record that this first attempt to bring together in the Museum a British collection has, if one may judge from the

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[146] 35th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the Borough of Liverpool 1887-88.
[147] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 10th July 1862 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).
[148] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 10th July 1862 (352 MIN/LIB 1/4).

> number of visitors and students constantly seen consulting it, seem much appreciated.[149]

This all occurred during a time when there was great discussion within the museum community as to the role of the provincial museum and what collections they should display; the local versus universal collection debate (for further discussion on the local versus universal collection debate see section 9.2.5). Indeed in an address made by G.H. Morton, President of the Naturalists Field Club in Liverpool, he stated that it had been:

> fully recognised that all provincial Natural History Museums should contain a Collection of the species of animals and plants found living in the district in which the museum is situated.[150]

This was a change from the old philosophy of exhibiting an example of every possible species within the Museum. He goes on to state that although Moore had intended to create a room dedicated to British flora and fauna, he did not do this owing to a lack of space. It was admitted that it would be impossible to get a full collection of British wildlife such as the one in the British Museum but that instead, the Liverpool Museum would try and concentrate on specimens from the local area of Lancashire and Cheshire.[151]

It was not until the end of the century that the Museum had a substantial space dedicated to the display of British material. This coincided with the death of Moore (1892). As we know, he had a clear agenda and drive to collect foreign material which seems to have led to the neglect of the material which was located closer to home.

6.3 Conclusions

From its establishment, there was an expectation that the Liverpool Museum would exhibit specimens from all over the world. Indeed the Museum lived up to this expectation (Figure 6.1), it could be argued, to the detriment of specimens from its surrounding environs. There were two favourable background conditions which intertwined to encourage the collection and display of foreign material. Firstly, the collection upon which the Liverpool Museum was based; the collection of the Earl of Derby. Without this bequest made to the borough of

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[149] 44th Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1896-7.
[150] From a pamphlet entitled 'Address of the President, G.H. Morton FGS Museums of the Past, The Present, and The Future, particularly those of Liverpool (1894)'.
[151] (Address of the President, G.H. Morton FGS Museums of the Past, The Present, and The Future, particularly those of Liverpool, (1894) Naturalists Field Club for 1893).

Liverpool it could be argued that a free public museum would not have been formed at this time. Prior to the bequest, a year's worth of discussion and negotiation by a specially commissioned committee - the Museum and Library Committee – proved unfruitful, the borough of Liverpool came no closer (in terms of having a collection or a building within which a collection could be housed) to forming a free public museum as when the committee was first established. The collection donated by the Earl was no ordinary collection and had been built up throughout his lifetime, with the investment of much effort and money. This resulted in a very large and valuable collection which contained examples of specimens from almost every corner of the globe, giving a global perspective of natural history. On inheriting this collection, the Liverpool Museum had a sound and comprehensive collection of foreign specimens (especially birds), and so the expectation that the Museum should continue to collect in this manner is not surprising. With the exception of the British Museum (although it could be argued that in terms of the bird collection this might not be the case), the collection upon which the Liverpool Museum was founded would have rivalled those of all other museums in England, none having such a complete collection of foreign specimens. By continuing to build on this collection, the Liverpool Museum could aim to have one of the most complete natural history collections in the country; which they had achieved by the end of the century.

The second favourable background condition which gave Liverpool Museum the potential to acquire foreign and colonial material was its location; Liverpool situated on a port. Before the eighteenth century, Liverpool was only a small town, with a small and insignificant port. However in the eighteenth century this port was developed into the first commercial enclosed dock in Britain and was transformed into one of the greatest deep sea-ports in the world. This connected Liverpool to many countries throughout the globe, and gave the opportunities for industry in the area to prosper. The latter half of the nineteenth century (the period in which the Liverpool Museum was established) saw the expansion of the port; new trade routes were opened, tonnage received by the port increased, facilities of the port developed and advances in technology (such as the use of steam ships) were incorporated. The combination of all these factors (and others) led to the increase of connections with countries throughout the world (including the British colonies); new links were established, and old links utilised to a greater extent. For example, an increased number of voyages occurred between Liverpool and Australia as a result of the 1850s gold rush, and to India due to the opening of Suez Canal (1869) and the expansion of the cotton trade (Lancashire was home to a large number of cotton mills). Africa became a very important source of raw materials for England in the nineteenth century and much of these were imported via the port of Liverpool, making one of its most important trade links. With these connections, it is not surprising that people presumed that the Museum would exploit this

easy access to the colonies to acquire material from foreign climes. It would be much easier for a museum in Liverpool to do this than a museum located in a landlocked town. The influence of trade links is apparent in the case of Africa. The West coast of the continent was arguably Liverpool's most important trade link, and it was from Africa that the Liverpool Museum received the greatest quantity of colonial material (for further discussion on the influence of ports on the flow of colonial material see section 9.1.3).

The importance of the vast trade of Liverpool, and its bearing upon the arts and sciences has been recognised. It has even been suggested that the prosperity of Liverpool was closely linked to the cultural development of the city (Hunt 1971: 46; Greenwood 1980: 375). Greenwood (1980: 375) for example suggests that the history of natural history museums in Liverpool is related to the prosperity of the city. The case study of the Liverpool Museum seems to confirm this suggestion, its success and development in terms of the collections which it held, was very much influenced by its port location and the access and connections this gave to countries (and therefore natural history collections) throughout the world. Trade and commerce clearly grew alongside art and science.

Although these favourable conditions were in place, without the vision, skill and knowledge of the curator, Thomas Moore, it could be questioned if the Liverpool Museum would have developed in the direction it did (for further discussion of the role played by the curator in terms of the collection of colonial material see section 9.1.2). Moore played a pivotal role in the acquisition of colonial material. From the start of his appointment at the Museum one of Moore's aims (and indeed part of his job description) was to fill the Museum with specimens from all over the world. Moore was previously employed by the Earl of Derby, so the Earl's philosophy for forming a global collection would have deeply influenced Moore. Indeed, Moore did employ many of the techniques used by the Earl to form a global collection. He even used some of the Earl's contacts to gain colonial material for the Liverpool Museum. The Earl had an almost infinite supply of money which he could use to purchase the specimens he required. Obviously, this was not the case for Moore. However, the Corporation of Liverpool did provide Moore with a generous amount of money. This was often used to purchase colonial specimens from natural history dealers, auctions and private collectors. He even used this money to encourage people to collect by using it to buy collecting equipment which was given to potential collectors who of course, in return would provide the Museum with the specimens which they collected whilst on their travels. Moore built up a network of contacts throughout the world, with individuals and institutions, which proved to be a valuable source of colonial material.

Moore was well aware that the position of Liverpool on a port could be used to the Museum's advantage in terms of the colonial/foreign material it could acquire. He made sure that this was exploited acting as a facilitator, guiding colonial material to Liverpool Museum.

He did this primarily by encouraging those who used the port (in particular those who travelled from the port) to collect whilst they were abroad and to donate these collections to the Museum on their return. He suggested that a circular should be sent out to merchants and sea captains informing them how they could aid the Museum by collecting and donating foreign material. He also produced an instruction booklet aimed at sailors, which very much encouraged them, whatever level their knowledge of natural history was, to collect specimens whilst on voyage. Moore gave reassurance to them that whatever they donated, even if the most common of specimens, they would not be thought stupid. It seems that his persuasive and instructive efforts worked, the Museum receiving important donations from sea captains and others who were associated with the port of Liverpool.

It was not only Moore who exploited the location of the Museum on a port to acquire foreign natural history specimens. Natural history dealers such as Cross of Liverpool, and owners of menageries, such as Atkins, also used the advantages that the port of Liverpool offered. Members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science also realised the potential of using sea captains to provide museums with foreign specimens (which would be rare in museum in England). They tackled the problem not only at the level of the collector (in this case the sea captain) but also went one step further by tackling their employers, trying to convince them that it would be beneficial to let their employees collect whilst at sea. Their actions may also have contributed to the flow of colonial material experienced by the Liverpool Museum.

The flow of colonial acquisitions to the Liverpool Museum was steady and high throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. This was despite changes in the museums agenda and producers (councillors and donors) as reported by Hill (2000). During the first 20 years of the Museum's establishment, natural history material made up a prominent proportion of the accessions made. It was in fact the donation of natural history material which was primarily encouraged. Moore was a naturalist and this was reflected by the fact that, for example, the instructions given to sea captains were regarding the collection of natural history material, not ethnographic material. As the collection upon which the Museum was based was purely natural history, it is not surprising that this trend was continued. However, as the century progressed, ethnographic accessions became more common, especially with the large donation made by Mr Mayer (this may have acted in the same manner as the Derby collection did, encouraging more material of its type to be accessioned). It was not until the end of the century however that a permanent space was set aside in the Museum for the display of this material (for further discussion on the accession of both colonial ethnographic and natural history material see section 9.1.5).

This material, both ethnographic and natural history was not only acquired through sailors and those associated with the port but also by people employed in colonial countries,

for example members of the army (generally those of high rank) and civil servants, as well as those who had no direct contact with the colonies, such as local councillors (for further discussion on colonial donors see section 9.3.1). It is possible that people were willing to do this owing to the fact that the success of the Museum reflected the success of the town of Liverpool. As Liverpool was enjoying a successful period in its history, owing to the economic success brought by the port, civic pride was high which may have pushed people to donate specimens, especially rare ones, to the Museum (for further discussion on civic pride and the donation of colonial material see section 9.2.3).

Moore's attempts to acquire and display this colonial material seem to have been to the detriment of the collection and display material from the local environment (for further discussion on the universal versus local collection debate see section 9.2.5). On Moore's death and replacement (by Forbes), this problem was addressed, resulting in space dedicated to local material, and appeals made for more of this material to be donated to the Museum. It is evident that Moore felt that by collecting foreign/colonial material the aims of the Museum were being fulfilled, allowing it to act as an educational institution. Clearly these specimens were of an educational/scientific value as the Museum received visits from many eminent academics. These specimens also proved to be very popular with the viewer (for further discussion on the roles played by colonial material in provincial museums see section 9.2).

Owing to the success of the Liverpool Museum as an educational and popular venue (owing to the valuable and rare material which the Museum contained), the status of the Museum rose and with this the status of the city of Liverpool increased. In terms of museums, the Liverpool Museum could be favourably compared with the British Museum. Although it did not contain the same amount and variety of specimens, in terms of the number of visitors it received they were evenly matched. The Liverpool Museum seemed to use the British Museum as their role model; they had similar aims as to the material which they collected, wanting to illustrate every species on earth. They even used similar methods to obtain these specimens, writing instructions on collecting and distributing them to sea-faring gentlemen (for further discussion on the influence of national museums on the acquisition of colonial material by provincial museums see section 9.2.4). Clearly then, the collection amassed by the Liverpool Museum was special and unique compared to other collections made by provincial museums. This collection could not have been formed in any other provincial town, the collection being so closely associated with the maritime nature of the borough of Liverpool.

7 Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 The formation of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne

In comparison to the societies discussed in the previous chapters, the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle NHS) was established under different circumstances. The Society was founded as an offshoot of the parent society, the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (Newcastle LPS), one of the earliest literary and philosophical societies of its time, formed in 1793. Like other philosophical societies, the principal focus of the Newcastle LPS was the discussion of subjects, 'mathematics, natural philosophy and history, chemistry, polite history, antiquities, civil history, biography, questions of general law and policy, commerce and the arts' (Watson 1970: 43). Alongside lectures, the Society also welcomed the donation and purchase of natural history, ethnographic and archaeology specimens, of a local, national and international nature. By the 1800s the Society's collection had grown significantly and over the years it continued to grow both through donations and purchases (*ibid.*: 55 & 294-298). One of the most significant acquisitions was made in 1822 when the Newcastle LPS purchased a large collection of natural history specimens, ethnographic objects and antiquities, for the sum of £400 (today this would be the equivalent to almost £26,000 [McCusker 2001]) from a solicitor named George Allan (1736-1800) (Watson 1970: 302-303).[1] Allan had interests in antiquary, heraldry and genealogy, and in addition was a keen natural historian. On his retirement he devoted all his time to these interests, housing his large collection in his own museum at his home in Darlington. Allan's collection is of much historical interest, primarily as it was based on the collections of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790).[2] Tunstall was also a keen naturalist and antiquarian, and like Allan had his own museum within his home (Welbeck Street, London, before moving it to his estate in Wycliffe). Following his death

[1] George Allan (1736-1800), best known as an antiquary and topographer, was trained as an attorney. His special interests were heraldry, genealogy, and the history of Darlington. He spent large amounts of money purchasing antiquary pieces, as well as natural history. Allan set up a print press at his father's home to print his manuscript treasures. In 1774 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (Fraser 2004).

[2] Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790), a naturalist, spent his life studying science and literature. He assembled his own natural history museum (containing many important specimens – such as specimens from Cook's first voyage to Australia) which was used by many naturalists and authors, including Thomas Bewick (the engraver). He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1771 and a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1774 (Woodward 2004b).

(1790), part of his collection (mainly the birds for which £700 was paid) was sold to Allan (1791). Tunstall's collection contained a number of very valuable objects and specimens, such as ethnographic specimens collected by Captain Cook during his voyages of discovery (Jessop 2004: 32-74).[3]

It is necessary to dwell on the formation of the Newcastle LPS and the development of its Museum, as it was upon these foundations that the Newcastle NHS was established. When the Allan Museum arrived at the Newcastle LPS it was too large to be held in the Society's current accommodation so it was stored in other premises until a new building was erected (Watson 1970: 303-304). The size of the collection belonging to the Newcastle LPS, which had grown significantly with the purchase of the Allan Collection, became a huge problem for the Society. Not only was there a limited amount of space to store the collection, but there were also associated costs, such as purchasing cases for storage and display. These problems caused friction between the Society members. Some members wanted the Society to concentrate on the collection and provide a suitable museum for its storage and display, and the other members preferred to attend to the library. A decision had to be made to save the Museum and its collections from these limiting factors, so it was decided that rather than dispose of the collection, or give donations back to their rightful owners, the Museum should be run by a separate society. A meeting was held on 25th February 1829 about the possibility of forming a natural history society and was followed by the circulation of a document to the members of the Newcastle LPS which stated the advantages of forming this new society. As a result, on 27th July 1829 the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne was founded. The collections became the joint property of the two societies, both continuing to receive donations which were exhibited together in the Museum (Watson 1970: 304-312).

It was upon the collection inherited from the Newcastle LPS that the Newcastle NHS was based. The contents of this collection may well have influenced the type of material which the Society went on to acquire. For example, if they had a particularly good collection of local botanical material, effort may have been made to continue to acquire this type of material so to gain a complete collection. It is necessary therefore to look at the collection of the Newcastle LPS in some detail. The inherited collection contained a mixture of material, natural history, ethnography and archaeology, from varying locations, which included international material collected from the British colonies. In the first published annual report of the Newcastle LPS in 1794 the gifts received by the Society are listed, one of the most interesting and valuable was, 'various curiosities of nature and art from the islands in the South Seas'. These were brought back to England by the distinguished Captain James Cook

[3] For more information on these collections see Fox (1827), Goddard (1929) and Jessop (1999).

(Watson 1970: 294). This was the first of many international specimens, in particular colonial specimens, to be acquired by the Society, the majority of which were from Australia (the discovery of which was still fairly recent in this period; see section 3.2.2) (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 *Colonial (Australian, Indian and African) accessions made by the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.*

Donation	Year of donation	Donor/Collector	Origin of donation
Wombat and duck-billed platypus	1798	James Hunter Esq. Governor of New South Wales	Australia
Eight birds and 100 plants	1809	Charles Cockerill Esq. of South Shields	Australia
A large mantis	1812	Mr. J.A. Turner of Manchester	Australia
Extensive collection of insects	1825	Dr. McCulloch	Australia
64 species of insects and 125 specimens of minerals	1826	Rev. Archdeacon Scott of New South Wales	Australia
Eight specimens of wood, fishing line made by natives; sponges; pieces of the gum used by native to cement the joints of spears and repair canoes; a tail of a bird of paradise	1827	Charles Cockerill Esq. of South Shields	Australia
Skin of an Indian ichneumon and of two Indian squirrels	1827	P.J. Selby Esq.	India
Indian hammock	1829	Mr. Robert Thompson, (Newcastle) per Mr. Thos. Wilson (South Shields)	India
Blue-headed and bellied parrot	Not known	Brought to England by Sir Joseph Banks who gave it to Mr. Tunstall (Allan Collection)	Australia
Crimson-fronted parakeet	Not known	Not known	Australia
Indian monoculus crab	Not known	John Adamson Esq. (FLS) of London, Newcastle and Perth	India

One of the Australian donations was received in 1799 from James Hunter, Governor of New South Wales. He sent specimens of the wombat (*Vombuatus ursinus*) and duck billed platypus (*Ornithorhynchus anatinus*) to the Newcastle LPS. The wombat appears to have been the first of its sort to arrive in the country and the platypus a co-type (Goddard 1929: 23) (Figure 7.1). The Newcastle LPS was clearly happy to acquire and accept this type of material and to guarantee that this would continue, an article published in the *Newcastle Courier* (13th July 1822), written by the Society, publicly appealed for people to donate their collections, especially those of an international nature to the Society:

> Were it more generally known that subjects of Natural History and antiquity come within the scope and views of the Literary and Philosophical Society, many persons might be induced to send articles ... In a great commercial town and sea port like Newcastle, it is reasonable to suppose that many objects of great interest to the philosopher must be brought, yearly, from almost every quarter of the globe. An institution, formed on the liberal plan of the Literary and Philosophical Society, is admirably calculated for the reception of such articles of natural history or antiquities, as maybe thought either inconvenient or impolitic for individuals to preserve.

Figure 7.1 Wombat (*Vombuatus ursinus*) sent to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1799 by James Hunter, Governor of New South Wales (reproduced with the kind permission of the Natural History Society of Northumbria).

It is not surprising that the Newcastle LPS received these foreign specimens when Newcastle's commercial and industrial history is examined.

7.1.2 Commercial and industrial history: connection to the colonies

The industrial revolution had a huge effect on the north of England, especially Tyneside. The dominant factors in the development of industry in the north east were the abundance of natural resources in the area (Clarke 1997: 5). The mining of coal encouraged the development of chemical industries such as the production of glass and soap, as well as the development of the railway in the north east. Iron ore was also widely available, and in conjunction with coal, provided the necessary raw materials for a number of large industries

such as locomotive and civil engineering, as well as shipbuilding. The combined economic output of these resources and industries made the north east one of the richest parts of the world in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Dougan 1968: 63).

The north east has a long history in ship building; the earliest record of which can be traced back to 1294. In 1800 Newcastle was the third most important port for building ships after London and Liverpool and its importance continued throughout the nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century shipbuilding was one of the top ten industries in the north east and the Tyne was the second greatest port in the UK in terms of the number of ships entering and clearing the port. During the late nineteenth century it was responsible for 40% of the world production of ships (*ibid.*: 19-62). Through the shipping industry, the north east gained connections with the rest of the world. As early as 1575, ships from foreign ports were entering Newcastle (Clarke 1997: 1).

The destination of ships leaving the Tyne included the colonies of Africa, India and Australia, although the weakest link was with Africa. Ships did leave the Tyne for this destination approximately twice a year (Keys 1998: 92), but it was the port of Liverpool which had the majority of trade links with the West coast of Africa (see section 6.1.4). Newcastle's links with India were much stronger. Following the end of the East Indian Company's monopoly of Indian trade (1813), ships often left the Tyne bound for this country and by 1817 more ships were loaded from the Tyne to India than any other port in the UK, bar London and Liverpool. The first ship that returned directly from India to the Tyne was the *Ida*. She returned from India with a cargo which included, sugar, rice, ginger and bales of cow hides. A large number of ships belonging to Tyneside ship-owners were used in the Indian trade. The Tyneside ship-owners, Thomas and William Smith, for example, built 25 vessels in a period of 32 years for the East India trade. They also chartered Tyne vessels owned by others to supplement their service. As well as trade, Tyne ships were also used to transport troops and supplies to India both during the time of the Indian Mutiny (1857-1858) as well as before (Keys 1998: 92-95). Tyne ships also sailed to Australia. It is known that two Tyne sailing ships went to Australia during the 1830s; the *Egyptian* transporting settlers, and the *Burrell* transporting convicts. However, it was the gold rush which hit Australia in the 1850s which increased the number of voyages made by Tyne ships to transport emigrants. Onward journeys to Australia were also made by Tyne ships involved in the sugar trade between Newcastle and Mauritius (*ibid.*: 101-102). In addition to these connections with Australia, India and Africa, ships left the Tyne for a number of other destinations worldwide: New Zealand, China, Japan, the Baltic, South America, North America and Canada. This illustrates the extent of the connections which Newcastle had with the rest of the world during this period.

It is clear that through these connections, there was the opportunity for colonial material to arrive in Newcastle, which helps to explain why, on inheriting the museum of the Newcastle LPS, the Newcastle NHS had a substantial amount of colonial material in their collection. The combined effect of owning a collection of colonial material and location (in an area that had connections with the colonies), may have driven the Newcastle NHS to accession colonial material in a similar fashion to the Newcastle LPS. However, the Society's future plans to acquire material for their museum were not immediately revealed. At an initial meeting of the Newcastle NHS it was stated that, 'the object of this Society be the furtherment of the study of Natural History in all departments'.[4] This confirms their commitment to natural history, but gives no specific examples of the type of natural history that this would encompass, whether it would be limited to the study of the natural history of the local area, or extend to the study of natural history over a much larger area, nationally or even internationally. By examining the flow of colonial material to the Newcastle NHS from its foundation (1829) up until 1914, the following section will reveal whether the Newcastle NHS continued (like the Newcastle LPS) to give an international perspective.

7.2 The flow of colonial acquisitions

The Newcastle NHS received colonial material throughout the period examined (1829-1914). The amount received in each decade, however, did vary and can be divided into three clear phases (Figure 7.2). During the first two decades the Society acquired a steady flow of colonial material, around 20 acquisitions per decade. This was followed by a sudden drop in acquisitions in the 1850s, with only four colonial acquisitions. The subsequent 20 years saw a gradual increase, but the number of acquisitions per decade did not rise above the number acquired in the first two decades. It was during the final phase (1880 and 1890) that a large peak in colonial acquisitions, approximately three times as large as any other decade, occurred. Following this, there was a gradual decrease. However, the number of acquisitions received in 1900 was still relatively high compared to the number received in earlier decades.

[4] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. 19th August 1829 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).

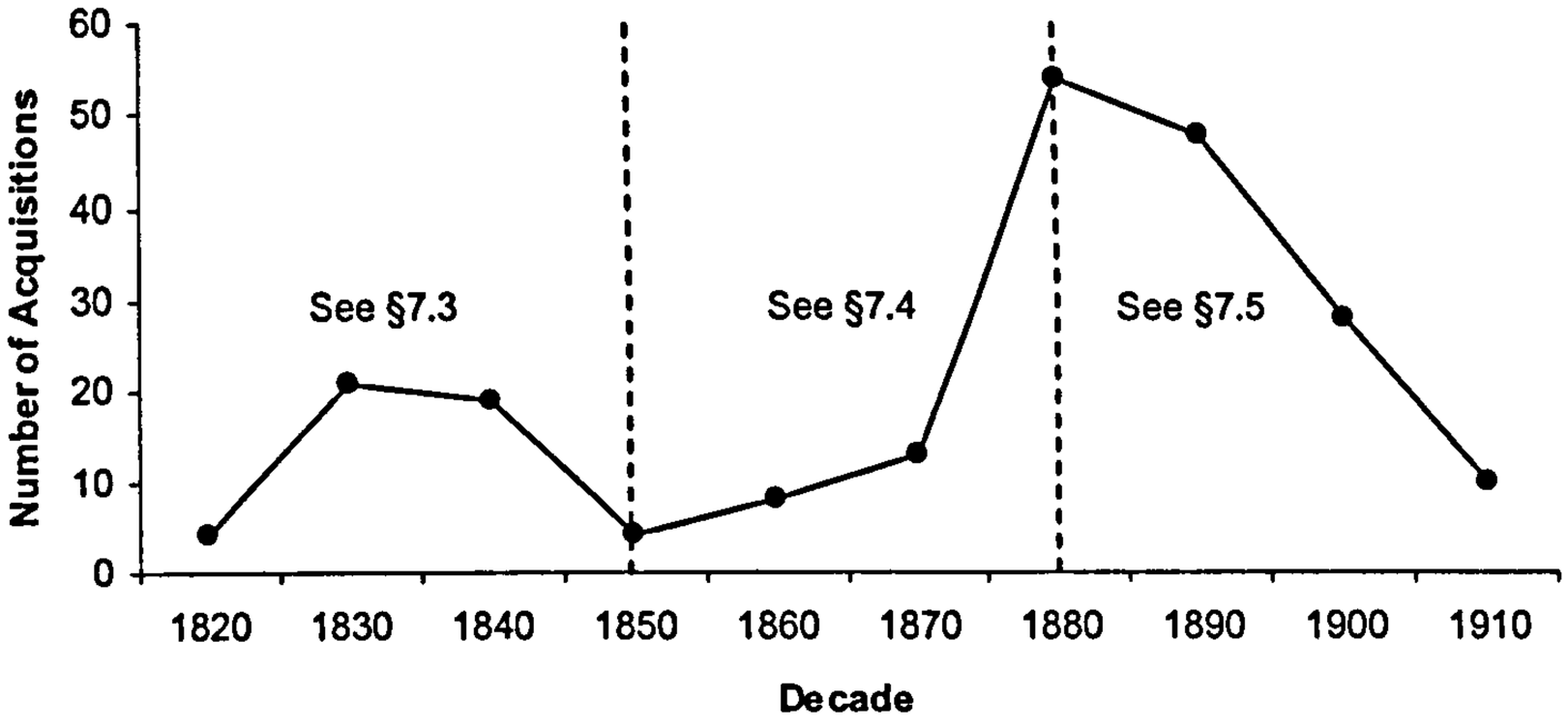

Figure 7.2 Australian, African and Indian natural history and ethnographic acquisitions made by the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne between 1829 and 1914, indicating which sections deal with each time phase.

The majority of colonial acquisitions received comprised of natural history specimens (84%). When the colonial donations are divided into natural history and ethnographic acquisitions, the flow of colonial natural history closely follows the pattern described above (Figure 7.2); however, this is not the case for ethnographic material (Figure 7.3). The flow of this material was slow and steady throughout the majority of the nineteenth century and it was not until the end of the century that the number of ethnographic acquisitions rose. This rise corresponded with a decrease in natural history material.

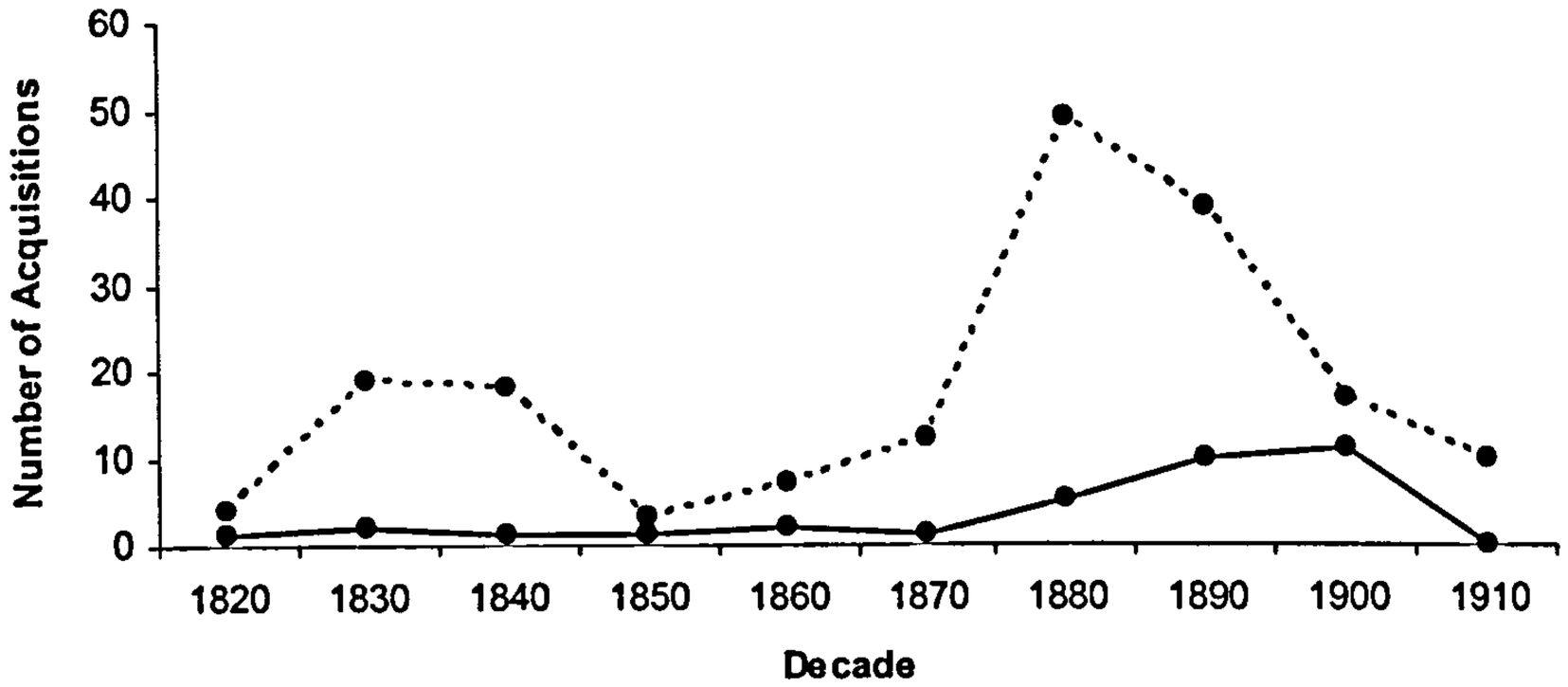

Figure 7.3 Flow of natural history (dashed line) and ethnographic (solid line) colonial acquisitions experienced by Newcastle NHS from 1829 and 1914.

The amount of material arriving from Australia, Africa and India was quite evenly spread (Figure 7.4). Although the port of Newcastle offered little contact with Africa, this is not reflected in these figures with India actually receiving the lowest quantity of material.

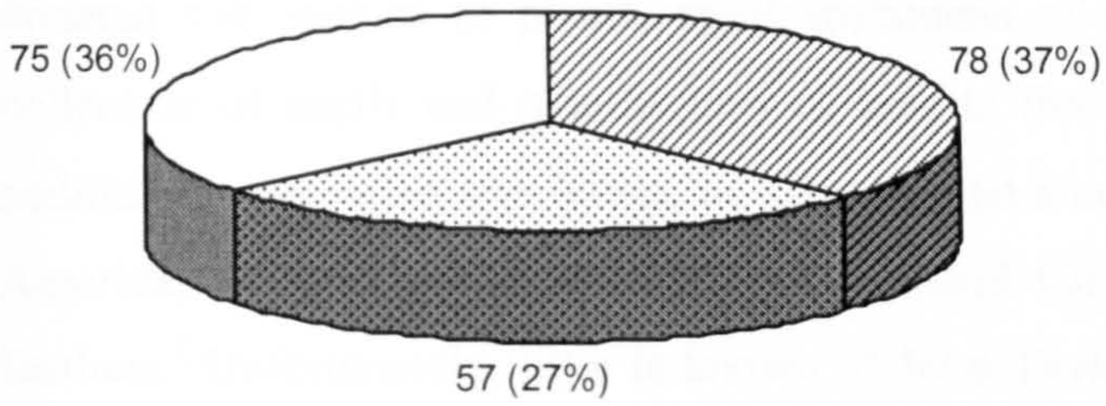

Figure 7.4 Quantity (and percentage) of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) received from the individual colonies of Australia (striped), India (dotted) and Africa (plain) by the Newcastle NHS between 1829 and 1914.

The flow of material from each colony exhibit similar trends (Figure 7.5), following the pattern exhibited by all colonial acquisitions combined (Figure 7.2). However, Australian material seems to dominate the material arriving at the beginning of the century and African material at the end of the century.

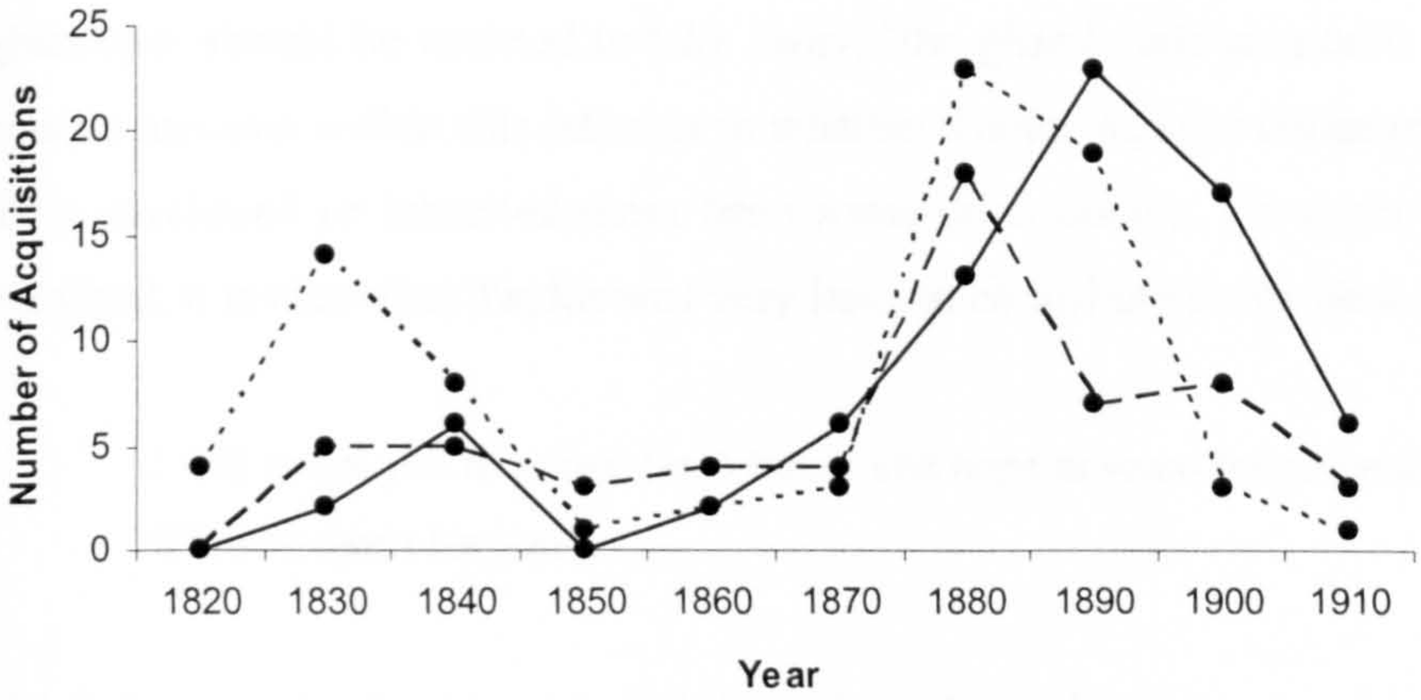

Figure 7.5 Flow of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) from the individual colonies of Africa (solid line), Australia (small dashes) and India (large dashes) experienced by Newcastle NHS from 1829 to 1914.

7.3 A promising start (1829-1849): colonial material enters

7.3.1 The first decade (1830s): a desire for colonial material

Although on the formation of the Newcastle NHS no clear statement concerning the type of material they wished to acquire was made, as suggested, they did follow the tradition of the Newcastle LPS, accessioning colonial material. One of the first colonial donations received,

after just three months of the Society's formation was from John Taylor of Boldon.[5] He donated 116 species of plants, eight specimens of minerals, 10 geological specimens, a collection of shells and a collection of insects from the British colony of Australia.[6] In addition to Australian specimens, he also donated a number of shells and insects from South America, a preserved head of a New Zealand Chief and a head ornament made from feathers.[7] Unfortunately, little is known of John Taylor, the only remaining evidence of his relationship with the Society are three letters. The first letter was written by Taylor on 29th September 1829, informing the Society that he would be sending them some specimens (those mentioned above) by courier:

> 116 specimens of botany…from Morton Bay [,] New South Wales…the Head of New Zealand chief fully tattooed…head dresses worn by natives [of the South Sea Islands] … a few butterflies from Rio de Janeiro.[8]

Extra details about these specimens were also added, for example he mentions that the New Zealand chief (whose head he was sending) had killed 26 men. He also recommends that glass eyes should be inserted to take away, 'the ghastly appearance it now possesses'. There was no mention within this letter as to whether Taylor was the collector of these specimens or if he purchased or inherited them from some other source. However these collections were obtained, it is clear that Taylor was very keen to contribute to the Newcastle NHS:

> I will thank you to return the 3 boxes and hope at some future period, to be able to fill them again for you.[9]

He also hopes that his example will be followed by others:

> [I] sincerely hope that this laudable example will be followed by every Gentleman that has a similar opportunity of obtaining specimens of "natural history".[10]

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[5] Unfortunately it has proved impossible to find any information about the life of John Taylor.
[6] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. Monthly Meeting 20th October 1829 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).
[7] See 'Lists of presents and purchases', *Trans. Nat. Hist. Soc. Northumb.* Volume 1.
[8] Letter from John Taylor to N.J. Winch dated September 29th 1829. From the Letter Book of the Newcastle NHS (NEWHM: 2001.H224.35).
[9] Letter from John Taylor to N.J. Winch dated September 29th 1829. From the Letter Book of the Newcastle NHS (NEWHM: 2001.H224.35).
[10] Letter from John Taylor to N.J. Winch dated September 29th 1829. From the Letter Book of the Newcastle NHS (NEWHM: 2001.H224.35).

At the time of this donation, Taylor was not a member of the Society, but did have connections with those who were involved in the Society's activities. For example, in relation to the butterflies from Rio, he mentions that he would like the Society to:

> return duplicates to the master Adamson; son of John Adamson Esq.; solicitor, who are fond of the study of entomology.[11]

The Adamson family had a long association with the Society and it may have been through their encouragement that he made these donations.[12]

The body of the second letter from Taylor thanks the Society for his election as an honorary member of the Newcastle NHS.[13] This letter, dated 6th February 1830, was composed after his initial donation, so it can be hypothesised that this honorary membership was awarded in response to this donation. He also discusses a number of other specimens that he intends to donate to the Society. Again, these are of a colonial provenance. They include minerals from New South Wales, Van Diemans Land (Tasmania) and the West Indies. Unlike the first letter, the information suggests how Taylor came to possess this material. It is evident that he was not himself the collector of these specimens, an opal and some coal given to him by 'Fraser'[14] who found it when exploring the interior of New South Wales. The final letter sent only a few days later on 8th February concerned more specimens which Taylor was sending to the Society. These were geological and entomological specimens. Again Taylor instructed that any duplicate entomological specimens should be forwarded to John Adamson's son.

In addition to receiving colonial donations as gifts, the Society also saw fit to invest money in colonial material. They resolved that £20 should be given to John Currie, a member of the Society, for the purchase of objects of natural history from New South Wales.[15] John Currie was actually Captain John Currie and presumably he was about to visit the country (as captain on a ship) and the Society wanted to use this opportunity to obtain Australian specimens. There is no indication as to whether the Society had any specific natural history

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[11] Letter from John Taylor to N.J. Winch dated September 29th 1829. From the Letter Book of the Newcastle NHS (NEWHM: 2001.H224.35).

[12] Three generations of the Adamson family had close associations with the Society. John Adamson (1787-1855) was a founder member of the Newcastle NHS (1829). His son, Charles Murray Adamson (1820-1894) was a donor to the Newcastle NHS and a founder member of the Tyneside Naturalists Field Club. His grandson, Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (1846-1930) was a member of the Newcastle NHS in 1896, a Committee member from 1897-1903, Honorary Curator of Zoology (Invertebrata) from 1897-1902, and Vice-president from 1903-1929. He was also a Trustee of the Society from 1905 -1919 (Davis & Brewer 1986: 167) (for further information on C.H.E. Adamson see Appendix 1).

[13] Letter from John Taylor to N.J. Winch dated 6th Feb 1830. Letter Book (NEWHM: 2001.H224.60).

[14] Unfortunately further information about Fraser could not be found.

[15] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. Committee Meeting 16th January 1832 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).

material in mind or whether they were leaving this to the discretion of Currie. Currie regularly made donations of natural history specimens to the Society during its first decade of establishment, the majority of which were from Australia (Table 7.2). He was one of the most regular donors of colonial material in the Society's history. Whether the additions he made were donations or purchases (i.e. from the money which was given to him by the Society) is unknown. In a similar fashion to Taylor, Currie's efforts were rewarded by the Society when he was awarded an honorary membership in 1833.

Table 7.2 *Colonial donations made to the Newcastle NHS by Captain John Currie.*

Year	Donation	Origin of Donation
1830	Crustacea	Australia
1830	Bird skins	Australia
1831	Insects	Australia
1834	Coelenterata and Mollusca	Australia
1835	Bird skins	India
1836	Lizard	New South Wales, Australia
1837	Coelenterata and Mollusca	Australia

John Currie was not the only Currie to be associated with the Society; a Robert and George Currie (possibly John's brother) also donated colonial material to the Newcastle NHS. George Currie made a donation of plants from Calcutta, India (as well as some from Mauritius) in 1831 and in the same year Robert Currie made a donation of bird skins and insects. The insects were from Bengal and Mauritius, and the bird skins were from the same locations as well as the Cape of Good Hope. A letter from Robert Currie to Robert Bowman,[16] dated 29th November 1829,[17] was sent whilst on a voyage (along with George Currie), which included stops in Mauritius and India. A number of Tyne ships, after trading with India went on to take labourers to the sugar plantations of Mauritius, the West Indies and Fiji. This transport of labourers was called the 'coolie trade', and could have been the reason that this voyage included stops in India and Mauritius (Keys 1998: 95). As the places visited by the ship are the same as the places from which the specimens donated to the Society originated, it can be confidently assumed that they were collected during this voyage. The letter from Currie confirms that this was the case. Currie was a keen collector of natural history, and used the opportunity given by this voyage to collect foreign material. The

[16] Robert Benson Bowman (1808-1882) was a botanist – he was the first to identify a *Phascum Flörkeanum* (a type of moss) in Britain – and corresponded with other botanists such as Prof. William Hooker. He was a close acquaintance of Robert Currie as he worked as a druggist at his shop when he first arrived in Newcastle (he spent his early life in Richmond). Later they went on to open a bookstore together. Bowman was a member of the Newcastle LPS (1825) and an original member of the Newcastle NHS. He was also a Committee member and Honorary Curator of Botany (1833-1841). He left Newcastle for some years, but on his return he was again involved in the Society's activities taking up the posts which he left (Hendra 2005).

[17] Letter from Robert Currie to Robert Bowman dated 9th November 1829 (NEWHM:1996.H277.198).

majority of the letter contains information about the natural history of the areas he visited, the availability of specimens and his collecting experiences:

> I have fell in with great numbers of that Molluscous Animal commonly called the "Portugese Man of War" which we saw more or less of until a good way on the other side of the line. I caught several the examination of which served to amuse for sometime these and flying fish, a shark now and then, Dolphin, and Porpoises none of which we caught except one shark, and a few birds were the only living things we saw during the voyage to Mauritius. [18]

> At Mauritius I felt the weather very hot and not being over and above well I did not succeed in procuring many specimens of any kind. I frequently gathered plants that generally they were withered before I got onboard. [19]

As well as collecting specimens himself, Robert also tried to use the knowledge and skills of the natives of India to obtain specimens, unfortunately to no avail:

> I tried every means to induce the natives to procure them for me without succeeding, there are no shells to purchase worth anything and plants and birds I could not get. [20]

There is evidence that Robert Currie may well have been encouraged by the Newcastle NHS to collect these specimens. William Hutton[21] who was heavily involved in the Society's activities actually provided Currie with a tin box which he used to store the insects he collected. The letter sent by Currie was written only a few months after the formation of the Society. Even so, Currie knew about the Society and its activities through correspondence with other members, such as Bowman. In his letter to Bowman he comments about the election of committee members. It is possible therefore that whilst collecting specimens on this voyage, Currie had the Society in mind as the depository for some of these specimens. If his later associations are anything to go by, Currie was elected as a Committee member (1834) and Curator of entomology (1831) of the Newcastle NHS, this was probably true.[22]

During this first decade, foreign collections were seen as an important component of

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[18] Letter from Robert Currie to Robert Bowman dated 9th November 1829 (NEWHM:1996.H277.198).
[19] Letter from Robert Currie to Robert Bowman dated 9th November 1829 (NEWHM:1996.H277.198).
[20] Letter from Robert Currie to Robert Bowman dated 9th November 1829 (NEWHM:1996.H277.198).
[21] William Hutton (1767-1860) was an original member of the Newcastle NHS. He was one of the driving forces behind its foundation, holding the position of Secretary and Honorary Curator of Mineralogy and Geology from the establishment of the Society until 1846/47. He is best known as a geologist and paleontologist, with a number of publications in these fields. One of his major works (co-authored with John Lindley [1799-1865]) was one of the first comprehensive publications on fossil plants, *The Fossil Flora* (1831-1837) (Newman 2004).
[22] Annual report of the Newcastle NHS 1831; 1834

the collection. As well as the acceptance and purchase of colonial material this is illustrated in a number of other ways. In 1838 the annual report of the Newcastle NHS contained a list of birds composed by Prideaux John Selby (1788-1867),[23] which were desired by the Society:

> The following arrangement was drawn up by P.J. Selby esq., at the request of some of the committee of the NHS, and is printed for the purpose of exhibiting the Genera wanting in their collection and to facilitate the exchange of specimens.[24]

In addition to British birds, the list also included birds which the Society owned, and that they desired to procure from Africa, Australia and Asia and its islands. It was sent out to those who would be able to provide the Society with this desideratum, including eminent naturalists such as John Gould.[25] This list could be described as a guide to the material which they wished to acquire, or a collection policy, illustrating that the Society had a clear idea of the material they wanted to incorporate into their collection. This is confirmed by an incident which occurred between the Newcastle NHS and Gould, resulting in the rejection by the Society of some specimens sent by Gould, owing to the fact that they already held them in their collection (Davis 1983). Rejecting specimens was a risky action as it may have offended Gould, a potential donor to the Society. Gould was not the only person to offer the Society collections of colonial birds. There were also a number of other donations of colonial birds made during this period, William Garret (1763-1857)[26] for example, donating Australian bird skins in 1836. These donations may have been made in response to the list of desiderata composed by Selby.

The completion of this list was not the only way by which Selby contributed to the colonial collections of the Newcastle NHS. A communication was received by the Society from him respecting a person who was to be sent into foreign countries to collect objects of natural history. The Society decided to subscribe to a fund for this purpose.[27] Selby also contributed to the Society's colonial collection by donating Australian bird skins in 1830.

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[23] Prideaux John Selby (1788-1867), was a wealthy naturalist who had an interest in ornithology from an early age. He was very well-known in Northumberland taking part in both its political (he was a magistrate, deputy lieutenant and High Sheriff) and social life. Selby had a number of publications, including a joint publication with Sir William Jardine (1800–1874). His major work was *Illustrations of British Ornithology*, the figures of which were mostly based on his own collections. This was published in nineteen parts (1821-1833). He was elected an honorary member of the Royal Scottish Academy (1827), a fellow of the Linnean Society (1826). Although primarily an ornithologist, he also made contributions to the field of entomology, and was a keen botanist (Jackson 2004a).

[24] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1838

[25] Letter from John Gould to the Newcastle NHS dated 13th April 1841 (NEWHM:1996.H278.93).

[26] William Garret (1763-1857) was a well known freeman of Newcastle. He was a collector of literature associated with the town of Newcastle as well as other local objects and curios (Welford 1895b: 271-277).

[27] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Committee Meeting 27th July 1840 (NEWHM:1996.H304.2).

Selby was a known collector of birds, with a large collection which included foreign skins (these were donated to the University of Cambridge after his death). However, he did not travel and collect all the skins himself, but had connections with people who supplied him with these specimens (Jackson 1992: 46-49). It was probably through these sources that the Australian bird skins were obtained. Selby had a very close connection with the Society; he was Vice-president and often advised the Society on ornithological matters, as is evident by the list of desiderata he composed. [28] From the evidence raised, it seems that the Newcastle NHS was the sole benefactor in the relationship between Selby and the Society during his lifetime, however this was not true. Selby often made use of the Society's bird collection to extend his knowledge, which the Society were more than happy to let him do:

> I beg to express through you my high sense of the obligation I owe the Committee of the museum, for their liberality in throwing open to me the contents of their valuable collection.[29]

This would have been invaluable to him in the preparation of his famous work *Illustrations of British Ornithology* published between 1821 and 1834. This relationship therefore was mutually beneficial for both parties.

Selby was also involved in another colonial acquisitions made by the Newcastle NHS, a donation made by John Gould. This was not his first dealing with the Society, previous dealings not being too successful as described above (Davis 1983). In a similar fashion to Selby, both parties gained from their exchange of specimens. Gould wrote a letter to Selby, in which he proposed that if the Society would subscribe to his new publication, *The Birds of Australia*, he would in return donate 100 specimens of Australian ornithology to the Society.[30] A letter setting out these same terms was also sent to the Newcastle NHS.[31] The Society accepted his proposal and on 23rd May 1842 the accession register records the arrival of 100 Australian bird specimens from John Gould. On that same day he was awarded with an honorary membership of the Newcastle NHS. Gould was well-known as a successful businessman; this episode clearly illustrates Gould's excellent business skills. In 1843 Gould made another colonial donation to the Society, a collection of Australian quadrupeds. This included a duck-billed platypus, seven marsupials and three rodent skins. The condition of the skins however are suspect, Gould stating in a letter to the Newcastle NHS that, 'the skins although not in the best condition will all mount well if put into careful hands'.[32] This

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[28] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1838
[29] Letter from P.J. Selby to the Newcastle NHS dated 16th October 1837 (NEWHM:1996.H277.198).
[30] Letter from P.J. Selby to the Newcastle NHS dated 19th April 1841 (NEWHM:1996.H278.52).
[31] Letter from John Gould to the Newcastle NHS dated 17th May 1842 (NEWHM:1996.H278.128).
[32] Letter from John Gould to the Newcastle NHS dated 15th March 1843 (NEWHM:1996.H278.161).

donation differed from the last, as Gould made no direct financial gain. He may have felt a sense of duty to make a donation owing to the honorary membership he was awarded. However, if the specimens were in a bad condition, it is unlikely that he could have sold them and made a profit.

The Society had an interesting arrangement concerning colonial material with a Mr John Wooler of Wolsingham, in Weardale, Durham. There is no record by the Society of him officially donating any material to them; however, there is evidence that Wooler sent specimens to the Society from India, that the Society held in their care for him:

> I would be thankful if the society would at times consent to receive and hold in deposit my insects, birds etc. as I pack a ship to their address? A trade which the port of Newcastle has now opened with India favours my direct transmission of collections as I may get them ready; and if the Society can so far accommodate me, I will put up greater varieties as moths, mantis, butterflies ... Any information the Society would afford me relative [to] collecting the sorts most to be valued, how to know them, where to hunt them etc. I would be glad and most thankful for.[33]

As to why Wooler was in India is unknown, but it is clear that whilst there Wooler spent time collecting natural history specimens, insects, birds and plants, which were then shipped back to Newcastle and held by the Newcastle NHS. This relationship continued for a period of five years, from 1840 to 1845:

> Would you kindly let me know what things are in deposit at the Museum in my name besides the insects which I left there when I was lately in England. I have since my arrival here again sent to your care for safe deposit in the museum in my name a collection of birds and before that collection, a new lot of insects.[34]

This seems to be quite a unique relationship, the Society holding collections and caring for them but having no guarantee of keeping them. They may have hoped that this would lead to the donation of this material at a later date. However, no evidence was found to suggest that this was the case.

Foreign specimens were an important part of the museum's display, as is illustrated by the money spent on their curation. In 1836 it was resolved that the ornithological curator should employ a Mr Wingate[35] to assist in stuffing the foreign birds.[36] During the following

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[33] Letter from Mr J. Wooler to the Newcastle NHS dated 27th March, 1840 (NEWHM:1996.H278.50).
[34] Letter from Mr J. Wooler to the Newcastle NHS dated 30th April 1844 (NEWHM:1996.H278.277).
[35] Richard Rutledge Wingate (1779-1857) was a well-known taxidermist based in Newcastle, his business premises 'Temple of Science' located on Pilgrim Street. Wingate was acquainted with both

year, the Society also employed someone to help set them up in the Museum, where they were displayed taxonomically.[37] Other signs of the Society's interest in natural history on a world-wide scale include subscriptions to foreign journals, such as the *Transactions of the Entomological Society of New South Wale*s and the *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, and the purchase of books such as John Audubon's *Birds of America*.[38] Scientific investigations were also carried out on the colonial material accessioned; for example, at one of the Newcastle NHS meetings (the Anniversary Meeting on 3rd October 1839) it was decided that Professor F.R. Jones[39] would attend and carry out an anatomical examination of the duck-billed platypus (*Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*).[40] A specimen had just been donated to the Society, and its members were obviously eager to found out more about this curious creature.[41]

Throughout this time the Society's collection was growing, after just two years the collections had grown so much that the Society had to rent a large room over the show-room of a cabinet maker, John Anderson, to store some of their collection (Goddard 1929: 28). The extension still did not give the Society the amount of space they required, so it was decided that a new building was needed.[42] The Society purchased some ground behind the Newcastle LPS building and work on a new building began on 22nd April 1833. The new museum was formally opened on 23rd December 1834 (Goddard 1929: 40-42). This would have no doubt given the Society extra publicity and creditability, but there was also a negative side. Their expenditure on the new building and the money spent on hosting the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) annual meeting in 1838 put them in arrears.[43] However, in addition to contributing to this debt, the BAAS also had positive effects, such as attracting some of the most prominent scientific men in the country to the area and to the Museum of the Newcastle NHS (*ibid.*: 47-48). This would have given the Society the opportunity to make connections with these prestigious scientific men, which may have been fruitful in the future, such as in the acquisition of foreign material. The public lectures which were held in

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Thomas Bewick and John Hancock. Hancock actually spent much time with Wingate, learning the art of taxidermy from him (Davis & Holmes 1993).

[36] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Committee Meeting 15th February 1836 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2).

[37] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Committee Meeting 28th November 1836 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2)

[38] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. Monthly Meeting 18th October 1830 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).

[39] Unfortunately no information has been found on Professor F.R. Jones.

[40] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Anniversary Meeting 3rd October 1839 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2).

[41] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Committee Meeting 3rd October 1839 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2).

[42] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. Annual Meeting 4th August 1832 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).

[43] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835-2nd August 1849. Special Committee Meeting 1st March 1839 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2).

Newcastle throughout this period indicate that Newcastle was on the academic circuit and was indeed a vibrant city in terms of science and culture, attracting prominent men of science. The lectures delivered in connection with the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society ranged from English poetry to optics and astronomy, and were delivered by members of the Society from the local area, as well as distinguished academics from further afield, such as William Hooker,[44] Profs Henslow[45] and Huxley[46] and even A.R. Wallace (Watson 1897: 339-366).[47]

Up to this point, the Society's commitment to acquiring and displaying foreign material is clear. However, the emphasis on local natural history cannot be ignored. Much of the talk of the Committee and the activities of the Society had a heavy emphasis on local natural history. The majority of talks given at the monthly committee meetings were of a local nature and in the early years there was a lot of interest in local geographical work. A sub-committee of the mining interest was set up primarily to study this subject. An off shoot of this committee, the Map Sub-committee, was set up to instigate, 'the formation of a geological map and sections of Northumberland, Durham and Cumberland upon so large a scale as to show the outcrop of each principal bed of coal, limestone and sandstone, and the depth from the surface at which these are likely to be found, together with the course of dykes and veins therein'.[48] The subjects of papers published within their *Transactions* also echo this local view.

7.3.2 The second decade (1840s): a new Society and an appeal for foreign donations

The second decade following the establishment of the Newcastle NHS saw a slight decrease in the number of colonial acquisitions received; this decrease however was minimal.

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[44] See chapter 1, footnote 11
[45] See chapter 4, footnote 9
[46] Thomas Huxley (1825-1895) was best known as a biologist and science educationist. Huxley started a medical apprenticeship at the age of fifteen and was assigned to the HMS Rattlesnake, a navy ship. While he was on board the navy ship, Huxley collected and studied samples of quite a few different marine invertebrates. He soon became acquainted with people like Charles Darwin and Joseph Hooker. Huxley was a big defender of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. He received the nickname 'Darwin's bulldog'. He won many awards, including the Royal, Copley and Darwin medals (Desmond 2004).
[47] Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) was a naturalist, geographer, anthropologist and biologist. He is renowned for proposing a theory of evolution by natural selection, which in turn prompted Darwin to reveal his own research on the subject. He was a traveller, spending a number of years collecting specimens in Brazil and the East Indies. Wallace made observations of the marked zoological differences across a narrow zone in the Malay Archipelago led to his hypothesis of the zoogeographical boundary now known as the Wallace line. He was awarded many honours for his work including the Linnean Society's Gold Medal in 1892 (Smith 2004b).
[48] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 19th August 1829-12th August 1835. Meeting 25th October 1830 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.1).

Throughout this period the Society continued to experience financial hardship. To combat this, a bazaar was held in 1842 in conjunction with the Fine Arts Society to raise funds. These financial constraints restricted the Society in a number of ways; it was decided that no purchases should be made and that the taxidermist should be dismissed. However, the Museum was continually improved, with the addition of new cases, improvements to the lighting and the employment of a paid curator William King.[49] In assistance, 10 guineas was subscribed to the Society by the Mayor and Corporation owing to their good work and lack of funds. The Society also decided that admission should no longer be free and in 1849 it was resolved that a one penny admission fee should be charged (Goddard 1929: 50-55).

The members of the Society were extremely supportive and one of the ways that they showed this support was by donating colonial specimens. In 1835 George Clayton Atkinson (1808-1877) made a donation of shells from New South Wales. Atkinson was a dedicated member of the Society from its establishment up until his death. He was involved in the foundation of the Society and was immediately made a Committee member and Honorary Curator of Ornithology. Although he did travel to the Shetland Islands and Iceland, where he studied natural history, he did not venture as far as Australia (Welford 1895a: 135-140). Joseph Harrison Fryer, Committee member and Curator of Conchology, Mineralogy and Geology, on the other hand, travelled across the Atlantic as part of his job. He was manager of a mining project in South America, which aimed to extract precious metals (Anon 1856: 56). His colonial donation made in 1841, however, was not from South America but from Calcutta, India. It seems that during his time in South America he become interested in conchology and began collecting specimens from all over the world, some of which he donated to the Society. For example, a letter addressed to the Newcastle NHS states:

> I send you for the Natural History Society what Shells I have to spare from my last Box from North America. I enclose a list of them and also return your list with a few corrections of names which I wish you would make in the collection.[50]

There was an important event which occurred during the 1840s which may well have gone on to affect the amount of colonial material acquired by the Society in future years. This was the formation of a sister society the Tyneside Naturalists Field Club (Tyneside NFC) in 1846. As the name suggests, the Society's aim was to encourage field excursions and

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[49] William King (1809-1886) was curator of the museum of the Newcastle NHS from 1840 to 1847. Following his departure, owing to disagreements with the Society over the fossils which belonged to his private collection and those which belonged to the Society, he was appointed as the Chair of Mineralogy and Geology at Queen's College, Galway. He had wide-ranging interests; his many publications include studies on fossil and living shell-fish, fossil plants and Neanderthal man (Harper 2000).

[50] Letter from J.H. Fryer to the Newcastle NHS dated September 1841 (NEWHM:1996.H278.105).

documentation of the local natural history. During this era the study of natural history, actually going out and collecting specimens, was popular (see section 1.6) so it is not surprising that the Society attracted many members, the majority of which were also members of the Newcastle NHS. The Tyneside NFC did not have their own museum so presumably some of the collections made by the members of this Society were donated to the Newcastle NHS. However, if they were the product of the field trips organised by the Society, they would comprise of local specimens. It could be suggested therefore that this period would have experienced a rise in local specimens, maybe to the detriment of foreign material. As already mentioned, colonial material received during this decade was lower than the previous. Action taken by the Newcastle NHS in the same year as the formation of the Tyneside NFC does suggest that they contemplated that the Tyneside NFC may have had a negative affect on the accession of colonial material. The Newcastle NHS resolved that:

> the Secretaries be requested to write to parties residing in Newcastle and the neighbourhood as merchants, owners, or commander of vessels trading in foreign parts, soliciting them to procure specimens of Natural History for the Museum.[51]

This clearly affirms their desire for more foreign material and the use of connections which Newcastle had with the rest of the world through its port and shipping industry to fulfil this desire. John Currie, one of the most regular donors of colonial material, had already proved that sea captains could be a useful source of colonial material. Other donations had also been made by sea captains for example Mrs Pitts (wife of Captain Pitts) in 1835 donated a netted bag containing betel nuts and bands of split bamboo made by the inhabitants of the Hosya Hills in India and Captain Ivanitsky donated a collection from Africa in 1840. Other donors also had connections overseas, such as George Straker (1769-1854) who donated a black snake and monkey skin from Bonney, Africa in 1841. He was born into a family who had connections overseas through his father who was a master mariner. He carried on this tradition buying and managing his own shipyard in South Shields (Welford 1895c: 458-465). It can be presumed that these specimens were collected as a result of the travel opportunities offered by their jobs. It was not only sea captains who used opportunities to collect whilst abroad and then donate their collections to the Society. Thomas Dalzell Harrison, for example, who was a surgeon employed by the East India Company donated the head and horns of a Saumer Deer from the Neilgury Hills, India.

Following the appeal for foreign material, the Society continued to receive donations from people who travelled to the colonies. Captain G. Palmer donated a collection of insects

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[51] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 13th August 1835 – 2nd August 1849. Committee Meeting 28th September 1846 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.2).

from Calcutta in 1848 and Henry Challoner, resident agent for the Burra Burra Mines, Adelaide, South Australia donated malachite and other ores from these mines in 1849. The Society also received colonial material from the Trustees of the British Museum in the form of fossils from the Himalayas, India in 1848. No doubt this was the result of the Newcastle NHS making a request to the British Museum to supply them with duplicate specimens.

7.4 A static period (1850-1879): colonial donations fall

The years of 1850 to 1879 saw the continuing flow of colonial acquisitions; this however was at a lower rate than the previous two decades. The 1850s received the lowest number of colonial acquisitions (only four) of all the decades examined (less than one acquisition per two years). This gradually rose over the following two decades, 13 colonial acquisitions being made in 1870. The low level of colonial acquisition flow can be related to the development of the Society during this period of time. Both the annual reports and the committee meeting minutes have a feeling of stagnation about them, with no major developments to report. The following statement in the annual report of 1866 epitomises the general state of the Society during this period:

> your committee believe there have been few striking events since the last annual report, that it has been steadily and quietly progressing.[52]

The Society was progressing, although 'quietly', most aspects were 'satisfactory', with no major events to report.[53] This is true in terms of the Society's financial situation and the number of donations and visitors they received. For example, in the annual report of 1867 it commented that, 'both this year and last there has been no special remarks as to general donations'.[54] There was also a plea made by the Society in 1870 for more donations to be made:

> Your Committee would here impress upon members and the public the valuable aid which may still be given in respect to increase of the collections ... Assistance in obtaining desiderata occurring in this way, either by presentation or purchase is much required.[55]

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[52] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1866
[53] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1872-1874
[54] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1867
[55] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1870

It seems to be the lack of new members which caused the most concern for the Newcastle NHS. Throughout this period, a reoccurring message was broadcasted in the annual reports; the Society's decreasing membership numbers. Many of the older members had deceased and were not being replaced by new members. The Society thought that as the wealth and population of Newcastle was growing, this should be reflected in the number of members joining the Society.[56] However, it was noted in 1876 that there was, 'a general commercial depression in the neighbourhood', which may have had an effect on people wanting or being able to afford to join the Society.[57] Current members of the Newcastle NHS were held responsible for increasing the number of members:

> If the members of the Society would only use their influence more generally amongst their friends, to induce them to support its funds, a sphere of usefulness would be open to it which it cannot aspire with its present limited income.[58]

> Efforts have been made at various times to increase the number, but these efforts have not been rewarded with permanent success. We would earnestly urge upon each member to do what they can in bringing before their friends the claims of the Society, for surely in these days, when elementary and scientific education receive so much attention, the advantage of having a well ordered Museum open to the general public almost free should not be overlooked.[59]

The Society also lost a number of distinguished members, Prideaux John Selby and Joshua Alder[60] (in 1867), followed by Albany Hancock,[61] one of the Society's founders and most active and eminent members (in 1873). Other events which occurred during this period, such as the outbreak of cholera, may also have had a negative effect on the Society's development.

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[56] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1871
[57] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1876
[58] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1866
[59] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1878
[60] Joshua Alder (1792-1867), a zoologist, with particular interests in British conchology and zoophytology, spent his life living in Newcastle upon Tyne. On his father's death he took over his business (his father was a provision merchant), but gave up this job to devote his life to science. He became a member of the Newcastle LPS in 1815 and was a very active member of both the Newcastle NHS and Tyneside NFC. He had a number of publications; his major one was co-authored with Albany Hancock, *On the British Nudibranchiate Mollusca* (1845-55) (Bettany 2004b).
[61] Albany Hancock (1806-1873) (brother of John Hancock) was a zoologist, and one of a family who were all devoted to the study of natural history. He was an original member of the Newcastle NHS and a very active member of the Society throughout his lifetime. Hancock was the author of a number of scientific papers including, with Alder, *Monograph of British Nudibranchiate Mollusca*, published by the Ray Society between 1845 and 1855 (the type specimens and original drawings can be found in the Hancock Museum). He communicated with a number of other eminent naturalists including Professor W.J. Hooker and was elected a fellow of the Linnean Society (1862) (Boulger 2004b).

As already mentioned, a new Society was established in Newcastle during the period, the Tyneside Naturalists Field Club. It is possible that its establishment may have affected the flow of colonial acquisitions. Following its formation, the Tyneside NFC was very popular, attracting a large number of members. Although both Societies were interested in natural history, they had a slightly different focus, the Tyneside NFC organised around field outings. I suggest that if nothing else, the establishment of the Tyneside NFC would have taken some attention away from the Newcastle NHS. Less attention may have equated to less acquisitions being made. There is some evidence that may support this theory; during the period of 1848 to 1864 the Newcastle NHS ceased publication of their transactions, scientific papers of its members instead, being published in the *Transactions of the Tyneside Naturalists Field Club*. Secondly, there may have been a more direct impact on the type of acquisitions made by the Society. As the Tyneside NFC was concerned with the natural history of the local area, the focus would have been on collections of local material rather than material of an international provenance. This could have contributed to the low flow of colonial acquisitions, local acquisitions taking their place. Further in-depth research is needed on the formation of the Tyneside NFC and its relation to the Newcastle NHS to find out if this was the case.

The Society did experience some positive events during this period, although they almost exclusively occurred towards the end of the 1870s, which coincided with a rise in colonial donations. For example, winter evening meetings were established,[62] and an agreement was made with the newly established College of Physical Sciences allowing them use of the Society's collections for teaching. The Society also inherited a large amount of money on the death of a Mr Hewitson,[63] a sum of £3000 in total.[64] Finally, but possibly most importantly, the prospect of constructing a new building for the Society was raised,[65] plans and estimates being put before the Committee by John Hancock[66] at a meeting on 27th February 1879.[67]

Although the colonial donations received during this time were fewer than the previous period, the few which were received did make an impact and caused excitement. For

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[62] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1866

[63] In 1878 William Chapman Hewitson died at Oatlands Surry. He was one of the original trustees of the Society and one of the most energetic workers for its welfare. He bequeathed the sum of £3000 and his library of over 400 volumes to the Society and his estate to his good friend John Hancock (Goddard 1929: 163-166).

[64] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1878

[65] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1878

[66] John Hancock (1808-1890), primarily known as a taxidermist and ornithologist (having a number of publications on this subject), was a valued members of the Newcastle NHS. He was involved in all aspects of the Society (was elected Vice-president), especially the building of the new museum (Goddard 1928: 171-179).

[67] John Hancock was the driving force behind the idea of constructing a new building for the Newcastle NHS. He was involved in all stages, suggesting the idea of finding a new site and obtaining donations from people to pay for the new building. It was decided that the best site was at St James', Barras Bridge and the cost of the site and building was estimated at £27,958 (Goddard 1928: 77).

example, at the annual meeting in 1878 it was announced that:

> during the past year many interesting additions have been made to the collection, some of which may be specially mentioned ... Through the instrumentality of W.J. Barkas, late of this town, a specimen of the Australian Fish *Ceratodus fosteri* has been procured to the Museum. This is a most interesting addition to the collection, as it closely resembles our local measure fish, *Ctenodus*.[68]

The colonial material received came from a variety of sources. A number of donations were made by Society members, for the majority of whom no evidence has been found of them traveling to collect this material themselves. For example, John Pattinson, Committee member and Honorary Curator of Geology, donated some minerals from Australia in 1863; William Dinning, Honorary Curator of Zoology, Invertebrate Zoology and Geology and Honorary Secretary, donated some snakes from India in 1869 (Davis & Brewer 1986: 196). How they got hold of these collections is unknown. The acquisition register reveals that one member, R.Y. Green (who later became Vice President of the Society) donor of the skin of a Bee-Eater (*Nictyornis amictus*) from India, was merely the donor, a Thomas Hannan collecting the specimen, illustrating the indirect connections from which these collections were received.

This period again saw the Society gaining colonial collections owing to the position of the town on a port, although these examples were much less numerate than in the previous period. A number of these donations were from sea captains. For example, Captain Buckler donated a gecko from India in 1869 and W.A. Brooks donated the nest of the bottle bird (*Loxia pensilis*) from Bombay, India, in 1853, which was collected by Captain J. Armstrong. Other tentative connections to the sea-faring community can be made. For instance, Charles Boutland, who donated a conglomerate from Africa in 1876, may have had connections with William Boutland a well-known ship builder (Keys 1998: 36).

Some donors did themselves make collections whilst in the colonies. This opportunity was given to them through their employment. Mr Francis E. Bigge, donated Australian land and freshwater snails, from Mount Brisbane in 1871. Bigge was one of the first free settlers to buy land and settle in Brisbane in the 1840s. The area which he settled was actually named Bigges' Camp after him and his brother (Potter n.d.). Bigge built a hotel there called the Brighton Hotel.[69] He returned to England in 1870 donating to the Newcastle NHS not long after. The second example is Mr. William Edwin Brooks, who made a very large donation of bird skins and eggs to the Newcastle NHS, principally from India. These

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[68] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1878: 417

[69] For more information on the Brighton Hotel see: http://www.gvh.com.au/interest.html

donations were made in three stages, in 1864, 1866 and 1888. He worked in India as a civil engineer for the East Indian Railway Company and used this opportunity of living in a foreign country to continue his passion for ornithology (for a full account of Brooks' life, collecting activity and relation with the Newcastle NHS see Appendix 2).

7.5 The start of a new era (1880-1914): a new museum and an influx of colonial accessions

7.5.1 Intense activity (1880s): donations from all

Following a period of stagnation, the final years of the 1870s showed signs of progression for the Society that continued into the 1880s. This decade was one of the most exciting and progressive eras in the history of the Newcastle NHS. It was during this time that the Society experienced a sudden peak in colonial acquisitions, receiving 54 acquisitions in 1880 and 48 in 1890. This period was one of the most exciting and important, not just in terms of the amount of colonial material received, but also in the development of the Society owing to the construction and opening of a new building in which to house their collections. This new purpose built museum, located on Barras Bridge, was named the Newcastle Museum and officially opened in 1884 by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales accompanied by other members of the royal family and distinguished gentlemen and members of the Society (Goddard 1929: 82). The status of the visitors who came to open the Museum symbolise the importance of this event. This move marked the end of the relationship the Society had with the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Newcastle NHS paying the Newcastle LPS £100 to buy the collections which belonged to them (*ibid.*: 87).

Although there were suggestions of the Society constructing a new building before the 1880s, it was not until 1880, that a building committee was formed and steady progress began. Not surprisingly, from 1880 to 1884, the Society Committee minutes are dominated by talk of the new building, much interest and enthusiasm surrounding it. This new found interest was beneficial to the Society especially in terms of the number of acquisitions made. It is evident that many people wanted to donate their collections to mark this landmark occasion in its history. Goddard (*ibid.*: 89-90) comments that:

> everyone in fact was anxious to help to furnish the new building with specimens and the list of donations received between 1878 and 1887 would fill many pages.

Indeed, during this period, the Society received numerous major donations; John Hancock donated his collection of birds, the Council of the Mining Institute presented the

Hutton collection of fossil plants, the executors of Isabella Bewick presented a collection of original drawings of birds made by Thomas Bewick[70] and his pupils (Holmes 1999: 7), Miss J Hancock contributed a series of beautiful original drawings by her late brother Albany of British nudibranch molluscs and local worthy Sir Arthur E. Middleton donated a duck billed platypus. The Society even appealed to the British Museum to send them some duplicate type specimens.[71] By receiving specimens from these people/institutions the profile of the Society would be raised, as well as possibly encouraging others to donate too. Although there is no direct evidence that the Society were encouraging people to donate foreign specimens, before the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting, which was to be held in Newcastle in 1889, the Society sent a letter to the honorary secretaries of the British Association asking for a list of 'distinguished foreign men of science', to who invitations to attend the Newcastle meeting could be sent.[72] The Society may have been interested in attracting these men to the meeting in order to make connections with those who lived abroad, who could supply them with foreign specimens.

The majority of acquisitions were acquired as donations rather than through purchase. This was probably owing to a lack of funds, which was caused by the costs associated with the new building. Although a building subscription was set up, to which over £12,000 was donated, and the old building was sold, this did not cover the overall cost. This caused the Society great anxiety. Funds were so tight that the treasurer of the Society, Mr. Joseph Blacklock, decided that they could no longer afford to pay Mr Howse the curator. The Society resolved instead that they would have to pay his salary from the new building fund.[73] This lack of funds did not seem to affect the number of acquisitions received. There is hardly a Committee report that does not mention a significant colonial donation made during this period:

> In the autumn of last year Capt. Nevile R. Sayers, ever mindful of the wants of the Museum, kindly presented an interesting collection of Madreporite Corals, which he had obtained from the Pearl-fishing divers on the edge of the Great Barrier Reef, off Queensland. Likewise, several specimens of fishes and Mollusca from Australia and

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[70] Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) was trained as a wood-engraver. He refined the art of wood-engraving to transform it into one of the most popular forms of graphic art (before the camera took over). His talents are illustrated in two of his books, *A General History of Quadrupeds* (1790) and *British Birds* (1797 & 1804) (Bain 2004).

[71] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 30th December 1881 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

[72] Newcastle NHS Minute Book 17th August 1876-31st October 1933. Meeting 1st June 1887 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.4).

[73] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 20th October 1882 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

Torres Strait.[74]

Some interesting donations have been made to the museum collections during the year. The mammalian series has been enriched by the gift of a fine specimen of the name marsupial mole, *Notoryetes typhlops* by Master Frank Sutherland. It is all the more interesting to our collection as it was caught in the Northern territory of South Australia by Mr Herbert J Sutherland and was one of the first specimens of this new marsupial taken and which is one of the newest discoveries made in Australia in recent years. [75]

The donors of colonial material during this period were mainly locals. They were probably keen to play a part in this new era of the Society's history, and a perfect way to achieve this was by donating material to the Museum. Although donors of colonial material, a number of these people had no known connection with the colonies. For example, Mr. R.B. Duncan, who worked for Standard Life insurance donated itacolumite from Delhi, India, in 1880 and Matthew Henderson superintendent of All Saint's Cemetery donated coleoptera and diptera in 1887. Not surprisingly, a number of these had close associations with the Society. Henderson for example, was a member of the Tyneside NFC and became an Honorary Curator of Entomology for the Newcastle NHS in 1888 (Tristram 1890: 28-29). Fred Page (MD & JP) member and later Committee member of the Newcastle NHS (1892-94) donated a spiny lizard (*Moloch horridus*) from Western Australia in 1887. Another very well-known member of the Society who donated colonial material to the Museum in this period was John Hancock (the inspiration behind the construction of the new building). In 1884 he donated the jaws of a ray from Madras followed by two donations of Indian bird skins in 1887 and 1889. Members may have felt that this was an important time to contribute to the Society's collection, enhancing the collection ready for its display in the new building. Obviously as they were members of the Society they would have been keen that it would look its best, attracting visitors, as well as having complete collections for scientific investigation.

A number of donors did have known connections with the colonies. Continuing the pattern which was exhibited from the formation of the Society, many donors were involved in the shipping industry of the area. J.C. Brooks, who donated a number of butterflies from India in 1887, spent his life working in the industry, starting off as a clerk and a draughtsman in a shipyard, later in his life becoming a ship-owner. Although known as a collector, it was the collection of coins, medals, tradesmen's tokens and autographs that he was well-known for.

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[74] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1889
[75] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1895

He was a member of the Tyneside NFC (1867) and the Newcastle NHS (1884).[76] Charles Fowke, a shipbroker's clerk donated a snake from India in 1889 and Andrew Nichol, another clerk, whose father was a master mariner, donated a lizard from South Australia in the same year.[77] R.N. Redmayne, donor of a collection of insects from Australia in 1889, was a timber merchant, the owner of Redmayne & Co. Timber Merchants.[78] His business would have given him contact with sea-faring men (who would transport his timber) as well as people at the places he transported timber to. These donors may not have travelled to the colonies but they would have been in close contact with those who did, and it may have been from these sources that the contents of their donations were acquired.

It has been established that those who sailed ships were popular donors of colonial material in the early years of the Society. This continued during this period. A number of the donors are recorded in the accession book and annual report as being Captains: Captain William Moore, donor of two nests and six eggs of the Indian Weaver Bird in 1884; Captain Gilbert Howse, donor of sandals made for the King of Uganda in 1887; Captain M.C. Balls donor of crocodile eggs from the River Gambia, Africa in 1888; Captain N.R. Sayers donor of a necklace made from 22 kangaroo teeth, boomerangs and corals from Australia in 1888, and more corals and starfish, again from Australia in 1889. Although it could be argued that these people could hold the title of Captain in the sense of army officers, it is more likely that these people were sea captains for two reasons. Firstly owing to the fact that army captains who did donate to the Newcastle NHS usually have the regiment with which they served listed with the accession. Secondly, the type of objects/specimens which were donated by the Captains listed above, resemble the donations made by other sea captains rather than those made by army captains. The donations made by army captains are usually more complete collections (see below), whereas, on the whole the donations made by sea captains are single specimens or curios (this was also the case at Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society; see section 5.2.1). One man who donated to the Society whose title cannot be doubted is Admiral St. John. He was a commander in chief of a Royal Navy fleet, and donated a skin of great bustard from Africa in 1889.

A number of people who donated during this period spent time in the colonies owing to work commitments. Two members of the British army made very valuable contributions to the collections of the Newcastle NHS. C.H.E. Adamson made a large collection of Burmese and Indian insects whilst working for the British Army with the Indian Staff Corps. He had strong family connections with the Newcastle NHS which he maintained on his return from

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[76] Taken from the biographical database of Newcastle NHS members compiled at the Hancock Museum taken from the published membership lists
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid.*

the Indian sub-continent, holding amongst other positions the Honorary Curatorship of Entomology (Davis & Brewer 1986: 167). He also donated his collection to the Society on his return (for a more detailed account on C.H.E. Adamson see appendix 1). Captain G. Noble was a regular donor to the Society throughout the 1880s and 1890s. He made donations of peacock feathers from India in 1885; Indian antelope horns in 1887; kudu horns from Africa in 1893 and an antelope from India in 1894. Captain Noble was a member of the 13th Hussars and served in the Boer War. He was actually a fellow junior officer of Baden Powell.[79] Before WWI the 13th Hussars were based in India, so therefore it is not surprising that some of Noble's donations were from India. Noble also stayed in Natal with Baden Powell in 1884, so this may be when his African kudu horns were acquired. Despite travelling, Noble had firm connections with Newcastle, the Noble family being based in Northumberland, living in Chillingham Castle, Northumberland and at Jesmond Dene (Walker 2005). Lieut-Col Potter was another army member who made a colonial donation. However his donation is quite surprising, as it was a frilled lizard and crocodile from Australia a country not known for the British army posted there. The Society also received a donation from a missionary worker, the Ven. Archd. Waters of St Marks Mission, Transkei, Kaffsaria, who donated the skin of a golden cuckoo in 1881.

In addition to having contact with people who worked in the colonies, the Newcastle NHS was also in contact with museums located in the colonies. They received regular donations from the Australian Museum throughout the 1880s. The first was an Australian plant, *Trigonia pectinata*, in 1885 and was donated through Mr Sinclair Sutherland who was the secretary of the Australian Museum. The following two donations, in 1886 and 1887 were made by the Trustees of the Australian Museum. The first consisted of two Red-necked Wallabies, two koalas, *Phalangister vulpine* and a specimen of the *Echidna hystrix* and the second of specimens of *Myochama anomioides* and *Waldheimia flavescens* from Port Jackson, Australia. It could be hypothesised that the Newcastle NHS specifically contacted the Australian Museum requesting that they donate these specimens or any duplicates which they held. They may have had an agreement with the Australian Museum that if they donated specimens to them, they would send material to them in return. A donation received from the Australian Museum in 1899 illustrates this strategy, a number of Australian shells donated in

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[79] Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell (first Baron Baden-Powell) (1857-1941), is best known as the founder of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide movement. He joined the 13th Hussars (gazetted as lieutenant), and was stationed in India (1876 &1880), and Afghanistan (after the Second Anglo-Afghan War). In 1887 he accepted the position of aide-de-camp and joined an expedition against the Zulus. Baden-Powell also traveled to the Mediterranean and his job later led him back to Africa and India. He received promotions eventually being an inspector-general of cavalry (1904). Following this army career Baden-Powell published books on the Scouting movement and organized a Boy Scout programme in Britain. He spent the remainder of his life developing and promoting the Boy Scout Association (Warren 2004).

exchange for the duplicates of the collection of George French Angas (1832-1886) that the Newcastle NHS held. This arrangement was mutually beneficial for both parties.

George French Angas donated a large collection of Australian shells to the Newcastle NHS in 1886. He is well-known as an artist, explorer, writer and naturalist, and has been called the 'father of Australian conchology'.[80] He was born in Newcastle, but the majority of his lifetime was spent elsewhere. After being educated in England, he left for Australia in 1843 owing to his father's, George Fife Angas,[81] business interest in the area. Whilst in Australia, he spent much time exploring, not just this country but also New Zealand and the other surrounding islands. It is known that during these visits, he made sketches of both natural landscapes and people, with a special interest in Maori and Aboriginal culture. Paintings on these subjects were exhibited in Sydney (1845) and back in England in Gravesend on his return in 1846. These were later published in the form of books, including *South Australia Illustrated* (1847) and *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (1847). Similarly, he travelled to South Africa producing a book on what he saw. Presumably when visiting these places he also collected shells. It seems that he did not only collect shells, Gould noting in the introduction to the *Mammals of Australia* (1863) that Angas sent him an Australian mammal skin. He returned to Australia in 1850 and continued his explorations before settling in Sydney, obtaining the job of Secretary of the Australian Museum, which included much work with the conchology specimens, including their classification. This job did not confine Angas to Sydney. He travelled around Australia, collecting throughout the country. He held this job for seven years and not long after his retirement, returned to England in 1863. It seems that his interest developed and changed over his lifetime, his early life publications were concerned with ethnology, and his later publications, all scientific, the majority of which were on the subject of Australian conchology. He made large contributions to the development of conchology, discovering and naming a number of new species (Long 2003; Morgan 1966: 8-9; Iredale 1959). There is no evidence of a return to Newcastle or any contact with the Newcastle NHS apart from his donation. His birth connection with the town of Newcastle may have been enough for the Newcastle NHS to secure his donation.

Although the Newcastle NHS was receiving colonial material, the largest amount since its formation, the annual report of 1887 stated that the object of the Society was:

> to form collections of all the Natural History objects found in our immediate district,

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[80] Information on Angas was taken from the biographical database of Newcastle NHS members compiled at the Hancock Museum. Unfortunately a full reference for this information was not listed.
[81] George Fife Angas (1787-1879) was a ship-owner, inheriting his father's business. He formed a shipping firm called G. F. Angas & Co. He had interests in Australia and joined the South Australian Land Company in 1832 and became a member of the South Australian colonization commission in 1835. He bought over 13000 acres of land which he managed, developing banking, whaling and trading business. Angas was also the founder of three Australian banks (Howell 2004).

> and conserve and arrange them for the use of students and the information and instruction of the public generally.[82]

There was no mention of colonial or more generally foreign material. This is confusing when the Society was accepting a large amount of colonial material. They were also permitting free admission to soldiers and sailors in her Majesty's Service[83] and keeping the Museum open for a whole evening just for the admission of colonial visitors (the final two points could be construed as methods to encourage people to donate foreign material). [84]

Following the opening of the new building, excitement died down and the annual reports reverted to the familiar tone of those written before the building was constructed. Again, one of the main complaints was the lack of new members. One of the reasons that the Society was keen to acquire new members was because many of the original members were dying and not being replaced, although this could have been advantageous to the Society in terms of bequests. The Society still had financial troubles. Although they were free from debt, income from the Society was not enough for maintenance. To help solve this problem a new maintenance fund commenced to pay for the new museum furnishings and enlarge and enrich the collections:[85]

> Whilst proud of possessing a museum which only last September was characterised by the President of the British Association as one "which in some of its features is a model for institutions of its kind", the Committee feel that the work of the Society is being unnecessarily and even painfully crippled for lack of funds and they would again appeal not only to their members but to the public to aid them in he two following ways, viz., (1) By endeavouring to secure a large increase in the number of annul subscribers. (2) By contributions to the Maintenance fund.[86]

7.5.2 The end of the century: decline in the number of colonial accessions

The new museum building continued to draw attention during this period, for example, a number of other local societies were interested in using the Museum to hold their meetings and for storage. The North England Microscopical Society requested space to deposit books

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[82] Annual Report 1887-1888
[83] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Meeting 1st June 1887 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[84] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 4th August 1886 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[85] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 4th August 1886 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[86] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1889

and specimens in the Museum[87] and the Incorporated Law Society used rooms within the Museum to hold meetings.[88] The more people who were aware of the Museum, the more potential candidates there would be for donations. However, the final decade of the century was not an easy one for the Society. Firstly they continued to lose members, including one of their most valued, John Hancock.[89]As a memorial to him and his brother Albany, it was decided to rename the Newcastle Museum the Hancock Museum. In 1893 the Society were still distressed by the very low numbers of new members joining and actually prepared a circular to send out to all the gentlemen living in the area of Northumberland and Durham inviting them to become members and annual subscribers to the Society.[90] The following year it was decided that a committee should be formed to increase membership and address the question of associates.[91] This period was another one of rigid economy, with very little money spent on furnishing the Museum or on its collections. Another fund had to be started, this time to try and raise money for the installation of permanent electrical lighting within the Museum.[92] In 1890 the permanent installation of electric light fittings was completed. Money had to be spent on extensive repairs to the roof and the opening of the Museum in the evening was discontinued owing to lack of interest (Goddard 1929: 94-131).

As the twentieth century approached, a number of new schemes were introduced. These include a competition instigated by Canon Tristram, called the Hancock Prize began, in which an essay was written about natural history, the best one winning a small sum of money.[93] The object of the competition was to stimulate observation research rather than form a passion for collecting. During this time there was more focus on education, for example, in 1902 a series of children's lecture was run at the Museum. These lectures and Canon Tristram's competition may have marked a change of focus from collections, to other activities, indeed the number of colonial donations did decrease.

Like the previous decade, despite these problems and the decrease in donations, the Society did still receive some interesting donations. A number of these were colonial, such as a collection of ferns from Natal donated by Henry C. Burnup, which had just been displayed in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Henry C. Burnup (1852-1928) lived and earned his living in a British colony, moving to South Africa in 1874 and setting up his own business as an accountant in Pietermaritzburg. Burnup became an expert on African shells, publishing a

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[87] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1888
[88] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 4th November 1891 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[89] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1890
[90] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 13th September 1893 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[91] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 4th November 1894 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).
[92] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1890
[93] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1891

number of papers on the subject and making one of the largest collections of South African shells. This included a number of newly discovered species, many of which were named after him.[94] On his death his collection was donated to the Natal Museum, where he was appointed Honorary Curator of Molluscs (Kilburn & Rippey 1982: 123-127).

The majority of colonial accessions made by the Newcastle NHS were received as gifts. Many offers of collections for purchase, for example a collection of Indian butterflies and works offered by Mr. Butt for £100, were rejected.[95] However, there were some exceptions to this rule, an offer of a stuffed kangaroo and emu from Australia from Henry J. Mennell was accepted and paid for by the Society.[96]

One noticeable difference in the composition of donations received during this period compared to earlier ones is that although donations of natural history dominate, there seems to be a greater number of ethnographic donations made. One of the most regular donors of ethnographic specimens was Rev. Stewart R. Wright. He made four donations of ethnographic material from Africa (two of these specifically from the area near Lake Tanganyika) in 1890, 1900, 1905 and 1910, as well as some natural history material. His contribution to the Society was appreciated and he was made an honorary member of the Society in 1904:

> Of those who have passed away, regret will be felt at the loss of the Rev. R Stewart Wright FRGS, FRSGS who died in Australia. Mr Wright was an ardent naturalist and generously enriched the African collection, which include the skeleton of the hippopotamus from Lake Tanganyika and many ethnological specimens.[97]

Wright was employed by the London Missionary Society, so it is likely that he was sent out to Africa by them as a missionary and whilst there he collected the objects/specimens he donated. Another significant ethnographic donation was made to the Society in 1892 by Miss Julia Boyd. Although the majority of the collection was of material from New Zealand and the South Sea Islands (which falls out of the remit of this thesis), it seems that it may have contained objects from Australia including a war ornament (see Jessop & Starkey 1998 for a catalogue of the Pacific ethnographic collections held at the Hancock Museum). This is one of the few donations made by a woman. She bequeathed her collection (which also included

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[94] His publications include, Burnup, H.C. (1925/1926) On some South African Guellea with descriptions of new species and varieties, Part 1 & 2, *Annals of the Natural History Museum* 5: 2-3, Burnup, H.C. (1914) On South African Emeae with descriptions of new species and varieties, *Annals of the Natural History Museum* 3:1.

[95] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 4th November 1891 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

[96] Newcastle NHS Council Minute Book 2.07.1877-10.08.1904. Committee Meeting 14th February 1894 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

[97] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1925

natural history material) to the Society on her death. Additional wall-cases were added to the ethnographical room in order to exhibit the large collection.[98] Little is known about Boyd's life. However, it is known that she went to New Zealand owing to her ill health and it was there where she died. It is likely therefore that it was during this period of her life that some of the objects/specimens were collected. Boyd did have connections with Newcastle; she lived in County Durham, spent time in Newcastle and was a member of the Society of Antiquaries (Anon 1892: 145).

Other ethnographic donations made to the Newcastle NHS include spearheads from Australia, donated by Dr. Fred Page in 1896 and 1897, and a collection of African ethnography (and natural history) donated by Miss E. Dickinson. Unfortunately, nothing is known about these donors and their connections with the colonies or the Society itself.

The remaining natural history donations were made by a variety of people. Unlike earlier periods, men connected with the sea and associated industries only made a minor appearance. Alfred H. Straker, a master mariner, made three separate donations over this period; some Indian birds in 1890, skulls of antelopes from Somaliland Africa in 1893 and two skulls of the rhino and two skins and skulls of antelopes (*Neotragus kirkil*). Straker is known to have collected worldwide (Davis & Brewer 1986: 141), most definitely owing to the opportunities offered to him by his job.

The majority of donors during this period seem to be those who had very close connections to the Society; many were members or held high positions within the Society. N.H. Martin (JP, FRSE, FLS, FCS), for example, donated the tusks of a mammoth and some malachite and azurite from South Australia in 1892. He was a member of both the Newcastle NHS (1882) and the Tyneside NFC (1893). In addition he was a Committee member of the Newcastle NHS, he was the Honorary Curator of Zoology (Invertebrata) (1888) and Secretary of the Newcastle NHS (1902-1910), before taking the most worthy position of Vice-president in 1916 (Anon 1917: 5).[99] Another Vice-president, this time of the Tyneside NFC (1886-1892 [also a member of the Newcastle NHS (1881)]), Henry Cooper Abbs (JP), donated gold-bearing quartz and other minerals from Mysore, India in 1899. Robert Colman Clephan (FSA) donated a parakeet and zebra finch from Australia in 1893. Like Martin and Abbs, Clephan was a member of both the Newcastle NHS (1887) and the Tyneside NFC (1861); he was made a Committee member of the Newcastle NHS in 1892. Other highly positioned members of the Society who donated colonial material include: Ernest Scott (he was a Committee member, later becoming a Vice-president of the Newcastle NHS), Mr. A.H. Dickinson (Secretary and Treasurer of the Newcastle NHS) and Henry Tuke Mennell (1835-1923) (FLS, Committee member and Honorary member of the Newcastle NHS). These

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[98] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1892
[99] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1915-1916

donors, as well as sharing the common feature of their close association with the Society, also did not travel to the country from which their donations originated. Their donations consist of single or a small number of specimens, which supports this point. As these people were involved in the running of the Society, they would have been aware of the specimens which the Society desired. The donations they made may well have filled these gaps. As colonial specimens were much harder to come by than those from the local area, they may have felt that by donating this material, they were making an important contribution to the Society.

Professional naturalists of the era also made contributions to the collection. Prof. G.A.L. Lebour (MA, DSc, FGS) (1847-1918), a well-known geologist, donated some Australian cannel coal in 1893. He was an honorary curator of the Newcastle NHS and also a Professor at the University of Durham (Woolacoot 1918: 234-238). Lebour did not travel abroad, but being an academic, he presumably had a number of other contacts in the field, and through these sources he could have obtained the specimens he donated to the Society.

Only a small number of donors were found to have direct connections with the colonies from which their donated specimens/objects originated. George Allan who travelled to the Cameroons and Swaziland, and possibly worked out there (Davis and Brewer 1986: 170) donated antelope horns, and some ethnographic material in the form of shields from Swaziland, Africa. F.G. Collett, who worked for the police department in Bombay, donated some ethnographic items from India. Collett's connection with the Newcastle NHS is not known, Allan on the other hand was a member of the Society.

Like previous years the Society benefited from the donation of specimens from colonial museums.[100] During the 1890s the Society received colonial material from the Royal Botanic Gardens in Calcutta, India. In 1892 Robert Lewis Proudlock (1862-1948) donated butterflies, coleopteran and other insects collected from the botanic gardens. After working at the Kew botanical gardens, Proudlock moved to Calcutta in 1888 and took the position of assistant curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, before he was promoted to curator (Dunk 1936: 690). Presumably, Proudlock made the collections which he donated to the Society whilst working at the Gardens. Whether Proudlock voluntarily donated this material to the Newcastle NHS, or if he was actively contacted by the Society and asked to donate Indian material is not known. However, Proudlock did have connections with the north east. He was born at Hepscott Moor, near Morpeth, Northumberland, and was educated and worked in the area before moving to Edinburgh in 1883 (*ibid.*). No evidence has been found to suggest that Proudlock had any other connections with the Society, so maybe the fact that he was from the area was enough to cause him to donate material to the Newcastle NHS.

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[100] For more information on the development of museums in the colonies see Sheets-Pyenson (1988).

7.6 Conclusions

Building upon the collection which they inherited from the Newcastle LPS, the Newcastle NHS received colonial natural history and ethnographic material throughout the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (Figure 7.2). The collection of the Newcastle LPS contained colonial material; the Society actively encouraged people to donate foreign material, exploiting the links which Newcastle had with many foreign lands owing to its port position. The combination of having a collection containing colonial material and being situated in a town which was connected to many of these colonies through its port, no doubt promoted the flow of colonial accessions which both the Natural History Society and the Literary and Philosophical Society experienced.

Although the Newcastle NHS received colonial material throughout the period examined, it did not enter at a steady rate. Three clear phases were identified; two peaks in colonial acquisitions, a small peak from 1829 to 1839, and a much larger peak at the end of the century (1880 to 1914), and between these peaks a period when colonial acquisition stayed at a relatively low level (1850 to 1879). The changes in the flow of colonial acquisitions seem to echo the general situation of the Society at the time. After its formation, there was much interest in the Society, a number of exciting events occurring such as the construction of a new space to store and display their collections, with no significant problems to report of. During this period colonial acquisitions were much higher than those received during the mid-century, when although not encountering any serious problems, the Society was experiencing a fairly stagnant period. The changing fortunes of the Society at this time could possibly be attributed to the formation of the Tyneside Naturalists Field Club, which I suggest could have taken focus away from the Natural History Society. This stagnant period quickly came to a halt when one of the biggest events in the Society's history occurred, the selection of a new site and construction of a new building which the Society would inhabit. This brought with it much activity and excitement – a lot of time and effort was given to make sure the project ran smoothly – as well as an increase in colonial material. It seems that people wanted to donate material to the Museum to mark the occasion of this significant event in the history of the Newcastle NHS. This was often done by donating colonial material, possibly because it was seen as special due to its exoticness and rarity. This clearly illustrates the influence that the individual circumstances of the Society had on the flow of colonial material (see section 9.1.1 for further discussion on the individuality of museums and its influence on the flow of colonial material).

Although the Society had no written policy or made no formal statement exposing their desire to acquire colonial material (with the exception of a list of ornithological desiderata composed by Selby, which did reveal that colonial material was desired), the

conduct of the Society throughout the nineteenth century demonstrated that they were actively encouraging the arrival of this material. For example, when the British Association for the Advancement of Science came to Newcastle in the late 1880s, they were keen to invite 'foreign men of science'; possibly in the hope that they may be the source of donations from far away lands. One of the most direct ways by which the Society's desire for colonial material was illustrated was through an appeal that specifically targeted people who had connections abroad. The Society requested that they use these connections to obtain foreign material which they could then donate to the Museum. The Society used money from their accounts to purchase colonial material, for example, when Captain Currie was making a trip to Australia, they gave him money with which he was instructed to purchase specimens. They also provided collecting equipment to Robert Currie who was travelling abroad, to aid the collection of foreign natural history specimens. He was actually made an honorary member of the Society as were a number of the donors of foreign material. By awarding honorary memberships, the Society was making it clear that they were grateful for the contributions of colonial material which they made.

The obvious link that Newcastle had with the British colonies was through its port. This is reflected by the occupations of the donors of colonial material, those connected with the port providing the Society with colonial material throughout the period examined. Sea captains were responsible for donating a large amount of colonial material, from Australia, India and Africa. Capt. John Currie, for example, was one of the most regular donors of colonial material to the Newcastle NHS. Others associated with port industries, even though not having direct contact with the colonies, also donated colonial material. For example, ship builders, ship broker's clerks and merchants were present on the list of donors (see section 9.3.1 for further discussion on colonial donors). Clearly then, the connections offered by the port did aid the flow of colonial acquisitions. Captain Currie was travelling to Australia owing to his job as a sea captain at the port of Newcastle, and Robert Currie, although the reason for his travel is not known, was accompanying a coolie trading voyage, which connected Newcastle with India and Mauritius. However, the connections which Newcastle had via the port did not directly relate to the amount of colonial material received. The proportion of material acquired from Australia, India and Africa was fairly even, even though connections with Africa were less established than those with Australia and India. In addition, no evidence was found to suggest that the connections which Newcastle had with the colonies via the port directly controlled the flow of colonial material.

Although port activities did not seem to directly affect the flow of colonial material, there was a suggestion that British colonial activity did affect the flow of material to the Society. Australian material dominated colonial acquisition flow at the beginning of the century and African material at the end of the century, following patterns of British colonial

activity (as was seen in the case of the British Museum; see section 3.3) (Figure 7.5), however, this correlation is quite weak. There is no doubt that British Empire did influence the acquisition of colonial material, for example, many of those who donated to the Society had direct or indirect connections with the colonies, often owing to their occupations; as mining agents, army lieutenants, civil engineers, land owners, museum/botanic garden employees and members of the Royal Navy. The donors of this colonial material had very different backgrounds, from university professors to cemetery attendants, but the one thing that the majority have in common is their connection with the local area. Most lived in the area, or had lived in the area at one point in their life. In addition to those who worked in the colonies, the Society also received colonial material from institutions abroad, for example, botanical gardens and museums located in the colonies.

Society members were very supportive in the role of donating colonial material, whether they had the opportunity of travelling to the colonies or not. Some of the most valuable collections were received from Society members who also went abroad, for example, Colonel Adamson who worked for the British Army in India and Burma (see appendix 1) and Edwin Brooks, who was a civil engineer working on the Indian railways (see appendix 2). The source of the colonial material donated by members who did not travel abroad is wholly unknown, but again it is interesting to note, the wide range of people from whom it came, even a cemetery superintendent managed to acquire colonial specimens. It could be hypothesised that they were in contact with people who had direct connections with the colonies, possibly owing to the close connections which Newcastle had to the colonies through the port, such as the sea captains of Newcastle. Whatever their source, the ease with which they obtained this material again illustrates the extent of the British Empire and the number of people it touched.

Society members (a number of whom held positions on the Committee) were regular donors of colonial material. These people would have been well aware of the type of material which the Society desired and therefore it can be presumed that foreign material was part of this desideratum. This material was welcomed owing to its scientific value, giving the Society credibility as a scientific institution. For example, an Australian fish was welcomed owing to the similarities it possessed to a local fish. The Society carried out anatomical investigations on foreign material in the name of science. Foreign material also played an important role in the display of material, the Society displaying their natural history collections taxonomically. In the case of their ornithological collections, they were keen to illustrate every genera (which included colonial specimens), as illustrated in the list of desiderata composed by John Selby (for further discussion on the role colonial material played in education see section 9.2.1).

It is interesting that a number of Society members, especially those who held positions on the Committee, donated colonial material even though they had never visited the

colonies and therefore did not physically collect the specimens directly. It could by hypothesised that these people went to the effort to acquire this material and donate it to the Society owing to the benefit it would bring the Society. As just mentioned, this material was often scientifically valuable. However, I suggest that as well as benefiting the Society, it may have also brought benefit to the donor; John Gould, for example, donated colonial material to the Society on the condition that they would subscribe to his publications, an offer which the Society readily accepted (for further discussion on the possible benefits this brought see section 9.3.2).

8 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

8.1 Introduction: the formation of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Leeds PLS) was founded in 1818, a time when following years of social and economic hardship owing to the Napoleonic wars (1804-1815), people were able to relax as Britain became more prosperous (Black & Macralid 2003: 215-219). The town of Leeds illustrates this scenario; manufacturing industries such as textiles, tanning, iron works, glassmaking, potting and engineering firms were beginning to thrive. Advances in technology allowed coal seams to be fully exploited and the efficiency of transport (for example the Leeds-Liverpool Canal opened in 1815-16) and factories to improve and become more economically viable (Clark 1924: 1-4). At the turn of the century (1801), Leeds was home to 53,276 people and as the century progressed the population rapidly increased, although at a steady rate, owing to both natural increase and immigration. By 1851 the population of Leeds had risen to 172,270 and by the beginning of the twentieth century (1901) to 428,968 (Morgan 1980: 48). However, although Leeds was the largest town in the area, it was quite small in terms of population (compared to other large provincial towns in the UK). In the 1870s Leeds had the fourth largest population, but this was 75% less than that of Manchester and Liverpool (Taylor 1980: 389).

Leeds received a number of migrants during this period owing to its industrial development and the workforce that this attracted. Leeds was a manufacturing town, its primary industry during the first half of the nineteenth century was textiles, employing one in three of Leeds workforce in 1851 (Connell & Ward 1980: 151). This industry brought much prosperity, its principal product was woollen cloth, with the flax industry also achieving success, peaking in the 1850s (in 1855 there was 37 flax mills in Leeds), although never challenging the wool industry (*ibid.*: 148). Leeds was also renowned for dyeing and finishing, and cloth marketing (during the first half of the nineteenth century), housing a number of carpet factories, one silk mill and some cotton spinning. Leeds owed its success as an industrial town to a combination of factors (*ibid.*: 144-1155). Despite its landlocked nature, Leeds had excellent rail, road and water connections, a good supply of raw materials (coal and limestone) and water, as well as a plentiful labour source (*ibid.*: 144). With progress in technology and organisational changes, the industrial activity of Leeds changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing began to decline and cloth and flax production were overtaken by engineering, leather production and the chemical industry (Connell &

Ward 1980: 155-176). It was in this flourishing environment, both economically and in terms of population, that the Leeds PLS was established and developed.

The idea of forming a literary and philosophical society was first transcribed in a local paper, the *Leeds Mercury* on 26th September 1818. The main argument for founding such a society was that an institution in Leeds would be beneficial for the inhabitants promoting 'intellectual and literary improvement', and exhibiting the talents of the people in the area (Clark 1924: 5). This illustrates the 'self-improvement' ethos through the gaining of knowledge which was popular in the nineteenth century (see section 1.5.3). Civic pride was also a factor in the formation of the Leeds PLS. It was felt that as few other cities were without such an institution, Leeds should also have one. The overall response given to this appeal was positive, the subject continuing to appear in the paper over the following weeks, with suggestions of possible models on which the Society could be based (Clark 1924: 5-11). This resulted in a public meeting held on 11th November 1818 at the Court House in Leeds, chaired by William Hey (1736-1819),[1] at which it was resolved that a philosophical and literary society of Leeds would be launched:

> this Institution shall be denominated the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds, in which subjects shall be discussed, that included all the Branches of Natural Knowledge and Literature (strictly so called), but excluding all topics of Religion, Politics and Ethics. (Clark 1924: 11)

Reminiscent of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (see section 5.1), the advocators of the formation of the Leeds PLS were wealthy middle-class gentlemen of the town, many with an interest in scientific affairs and a dedication to the cause of learning. The first public meeting was attended by clergymen, surgeons, manufacturers, merchants, solicitors, bankers and politicians. Among them were Edward Baines MP and proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury*, Benjamin Gott (1762-1840),[2] senior partner of a woollen manufacturers and merchants, Charles Thackrah, town surgeon, and John Marshall, flax spinner (Clark 1924: 5-19). With the formation of the Leeds PLS, it was necessary to provide premises where the Society could base itself, hold meetings and house a museum. On 7th May 1819 a building committee was appointed and within a week a site had been chosen and the architect briefed with the functions of the building. The corner-stone was laid on 9th July by Benjamin Gott, and the whole building was finished, ready for occupation in April 1821, at a total cost

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[1] William Hey (1736-1819) was a senior surgeon and Mayor of Leeds (1787; 1802). He was formerly president of the Leeds Philosophical Society which was formed in 1783 (Clark 1924: 13).
[2] Benjamin Gott (1762-1840), as well as a senior partner of a woollen manufacturers and merchants, was also the Mayor of Leeds (1799). He made valuable contributions to the Society in terms of financial aid, donating specimens and delivering lectures (Clark 1924: 13).

of £6150. The building provided accommodation for a live-in curator, a lecture hall, a laboratory and a large space on the first floor for the museum and library (Brears & Davies 1989: 22). During this period, as preparations were made for the opening of the Leeds PLS Hall, no evidence was found revealing the Society's plans, hopes and ambitions for the future, in terms of what the museum would exhibit or what type of material the Society wished to acquire. To divulge additional information on the Society's mission and whether colonial acquisitions would play a role in the development of the Society and Museum, it is necessary to focus on the period after its establishment, when the Hall had been built and the Museum was ready to be furnished. The next section will expose if the Society accepted colonial acquisitions on their formation, as well as revealing the flow of colonial material received by the Leeds PLS over the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

8.2 The flow of colonial acquisitions

The flow of colonial accessions into the Leeds PLS was recorded from 1818 up until 1914. It is evident that throughout this period the Leeds PLS acquired colonial material (Figure 8.1). The flow of colonial acquisitions was steady throughout this time period, excluding the mid-century (1850s and 1860s) when there was a large peak, the decade of 1860 receiving a total of 71 colonial acquisitions. There was no build up to this sudden climax in colonial acquisitions, or gradual decrease following this peak, all other decades showing a fairly steady flow of around 10 to 20 donations. The majority of colonial acquisitions received comprised of natural history specimens (87%). When the colonial donations are divided into natural history and ethnographic acquisitions, the flow of each closely follows the pattern described above (Figure 8.1).

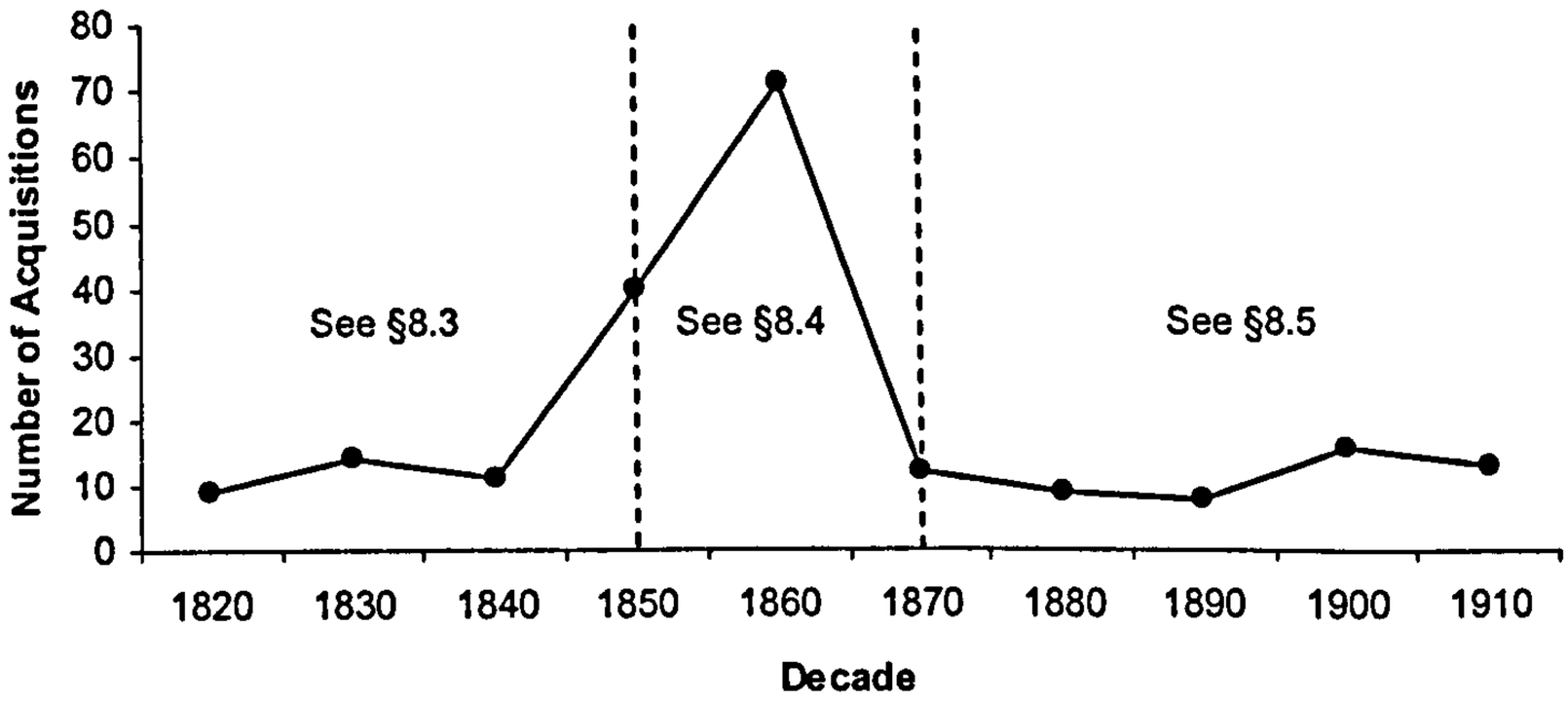

Figure 8.1 Australian, Indian and African acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) made by Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society from 1823 to 1914, indicating which sections deal with each time phase.

The quantity of colonial acquisitions received from the individual colonies was fairly evenly distributed, however, African material comprised the largest proportion (Figure 8.2).

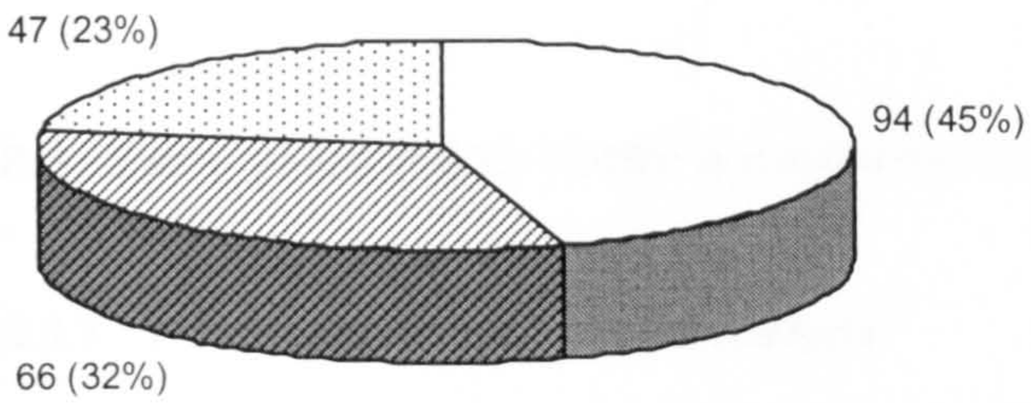

Figure 8.2 Quantity (and percentage) of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) received from the individual colonies of Africa (plain), Australia (striped) and India (dotted) by Leeds PLS between 1823 and 1914.

The flow of material from individual colonies (Figure 8.3) follows the trend exhibited by the combined flow of colonial acquisitions (Figure 8.1). It is interesting to note the rise in African material at the end of the century.

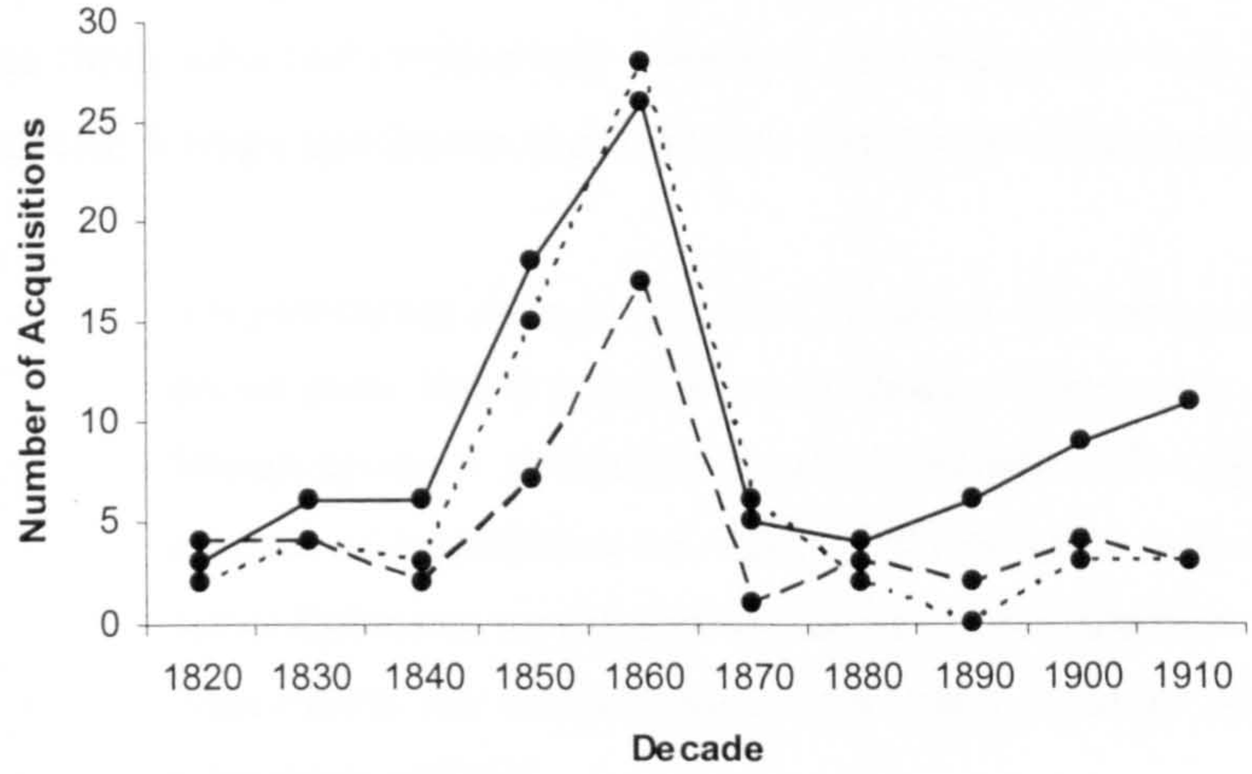

Figure 8.3 Flow of colonial acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) from the individual colonies of Africa (solid line), Australia (small dashes) and India (large dashes) experienced by Leeds PLS from 1823 and 1914.

Figures 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 indicate that colonial acquisitions played a part in the development of the Leeds PLS Museum, especially in the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter will go on to investigate how the Society acquired this material, who they acquired it from and what purpose it served for the Leeds PLS. To do this, the chapter will be separated into three main sections according to the three phases illustrated by the flow of colonial

acquisition to the Society; 1818 to 1849 (see section 8.3), 1850 to 1869 (see section 8.4) and 1870 to 1914 (see section 8.5). To help explain the patterns exhibited above a general examination of the development of the Leeds PLS over this time period will be carried out.

8.3 Early years (1823-1849): a desire for foreign material

8.3.1 The movement of colonial material

The earliest documented accessions accepted by the Leeds PLS included donations of local, national and international material. This is illustrated by the contents of one of the first recorded donations made in 1822. This donation was from a Mr Robert Leyland who was a corresponding member of the Society and included 10 British birds, plants and mosses from Halifax and a collection of foreign Ericae (a genus of frog).[3] This gives an indication of the wide variety of material which people were willing to donate and the Leeds PLS were prepared to accept. This donation (as well as others) may have been influenced by instructions given by the Society on the type of accessions they wished to receive. It is clear that foreign material was part of the Society's desiderata, as within a year of opening, an appeal was made to those who had connections overseas, suggesting that they should use these connections to obtain foreign specimens and therefore contribute to the success of the Society:

> It is particularly suggested to those Members who have commercial connections with distant parts, that it might be occasionally in their power, by the assistance of their foreign agents, to obtain additions to its Museum of a highly interesting nature. The presents of a gentleman belonging to a mercantile establishment in this town, Mr. James Robinson, recorded in another place, may illustrate the value of this source of contribution, the productiveness of which it is hoped your Society will still more extensively realize.[4]

The Society made it very clear that the basis for their desire to acquire foreign material was not for its curiosity, but its scientific and educational value. In fact they were very defensive about this point:

> it may be fairly expected, that such examples [Egyptian mummy procured by H Salt] will stimulate those more immediately connected with the Society and the town, to renew their exertions in advancing the progress of this interesting department of their

[3] Natural History Accession Records. Compiled by Adrian Morris, Leeds Museum Resource Centre.
[4] Fourth Report of the Council on the general state of Leeds PLS 1822-23:5

> institution; a department, valuable, not as administering to a vulgar puerile admiration of mere curiosities, but as furnishing luminous illustrations of the truths of Nature and of Science, without which the researches of the student are perplexed, fruitless and unsatisfactory.[5]

The appeal illustrates that foreign material comprised a component of the Society's desiderata, its success however could be questioned, the quantity of colonial material received during this early period was significantly low in comparison to the number received in the 1850s and 1860s (Figure 8.1). Also, when comparing the number of colonial acquisitions received by the Leeds PLS in comparison to the total number of acquisitions, the number of colonial acquisitions are low and insignificant (Figure 8.4).

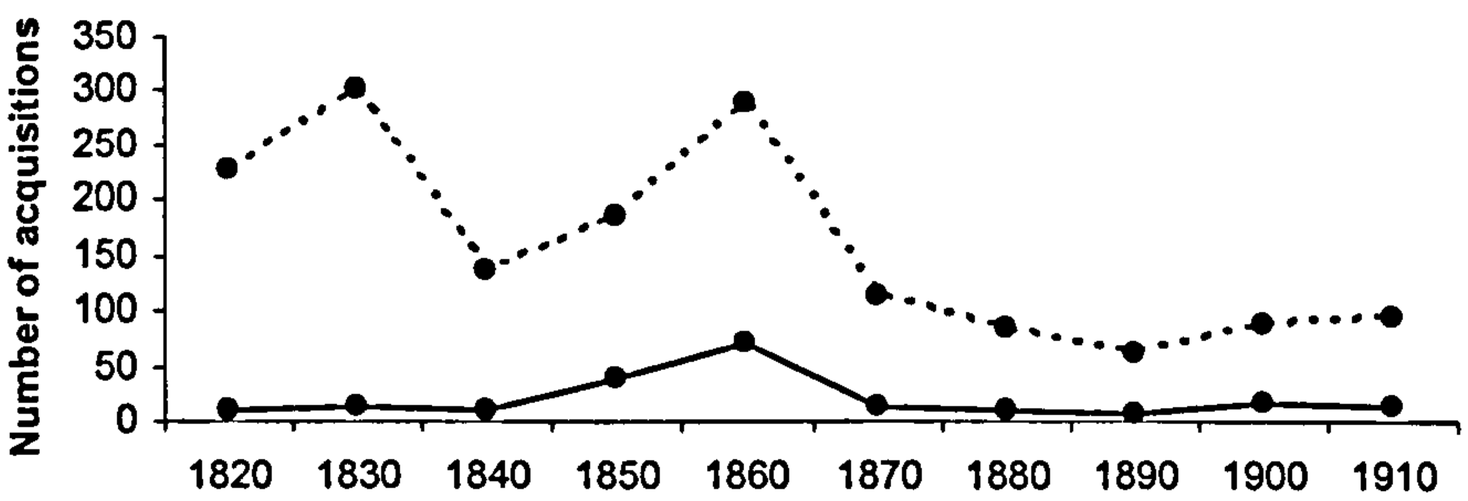

Figure 8.4 Total number of acquisitions (dashed line) and colonial (solid line) (Australian, African and Indian) acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) made by the Leeds PLS between 1818 and 1914.

The other interesting point to note is that during this early period (1818-1849), the flow of colonial acquisitions does not follow that of total acquisitions. Whilst the flow of colonial acquisitions was steady, there was a definite peak in the overall number of acquisitions (Figure 8.4). From its foundation, the Society received copious numbers of donations and by its third year donations were so plentiful, that they could no longer all be listed in the annual report.[6] As mentioned earlier, the Society accepted a variety of donations, from local material to material from much further afield, suggesting that they had no set, or a very broad collection policy to which they adhered. The Society was extremely pleased with the progress of the Museum, identifying it as one of the most successful elements of the Society.[7] This was in part owing to the quality of donations that they received, which undoubtedly colonial

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[5] Fourth Report of the Council on the general state of Leeds PLS 1822-23:5
[6] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1821-22
[7] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1822-23

material contributed to. Furthermore, the Museum was attracting an increasing amount of visitors, from the well educated upper-class, to the working class, both from Leeds and the rest of the UK.[8] Many of these visitors came specifically to consult specimens, some being scientifically renowned such as William Buckland,[9] Professor of Geology at Oxford.[10]

Although the Museum was experiencing success in terms of visitors and acquisitions, this was quite an unstable time for the Society. By 1824, just three years after opening, the success of the Museum was starting to cause problems as the space it had been allocated could no longer hold the large collection which the Society had, and were continuing to accumulate:

> The prosperity of the general objects of the Society has so far outgrown their most sanguine anticipations, that the building at first thought unnecessarily spacious, is now found small and incommodious.[11]

Many members of the Society felt that the Museum could no longer achieve its function as a space for the display, 'of an increasingly and valuable collection of subjects of natural history and arts'.[12] For this problem to occur such a short time after building their Hall could have been quite embarrassing for the Society. They obviously had not imagined that they would receive so many donations or they would have constructed a larger space in which to house them. Discussions commenced to rectify the problem and it was proposed that bigger and better accommodation should be found elsewhere. However, the majority of the Council disagreed so instead they decided that the vacant land at the west side of the Hall should be used for an additional building.[13] The main changes made to the Museum were the raising of the ceiling and addition of a mezzanine which could be accessed by a spiral staircase. This added extra space and allowed the inclusion of a mineral gallery. Space was also found in other parts of the building, an office being allocated on the ground floor for Henry Denny (1803-1871) who had been appointed as sub-curator, and an antiquities gallery which was formerly a library (Brears & Davies 1989: 22). These changes allowed additional space for display and more material to be accessioned, including material of a foreign nature which continued to be donated:

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[8] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1836-37
[9] William Buckland (1784-1856) was dean of Westminster and a geologist. Buckland was appointed as a reader in mineralogy at Oxford University and is well-known for the work he carried out on fossil cave faunas. Buckland published some forty papers and books during his career. His collection of rocks and fossils formed the nucleus of the Oxford University Museum collection (Neville 2004).
[10] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1834-35
[11] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1825-26
[12] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1824-25
[13] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1824-25

> One gentleman (Mr Glover) was available himself of the opportunity afforded by travel, to bring a collection of insects from the Alps, for the express purpose of being added to the Society's Museum.[14]

The Society played an active role in the acquisition of foreign material. This has been demonstrated by the appeal for its donation, and in addition, the purchase of colonial material. From an early stage the Society planned to dedicate a proportion of their income to purchase specimens for the Museum.[15] This included colonial material; from 1818 to 1840 up to a third of colonial accessions were purchased. This purchased material consisted of natural history specimens, ranging from fairly large collections such as 39 birds from New Holland (Australia), to single specimens such as a Bengal tiger (*Felis tigris*) and a kangaroo (*Kangurus labiatus*). In comparison to the remainder of the century, the rate of purchase was quite high at this point, for example between 1818 and 1914, only 11% of colonial acquisitions were purchased by the Society, whereas 33% were purchased between 1818 and 1840.

By the mid-1830s, however, the Society was experiencing financial hardship, and its debt, mainly owing to the extension made on the existing building, increased rapidly:

> The Society will learn with regret that a progressive deterioration has taken place in its financial relations.[16]

The newly founded Leeds Literary Institution caused increased competition for membership and as time progressed, financial problems worsened and started to have a knock-on effect on the Museum. The Society recommended that in the case of purchases:

> very great vigilance and self-denial [should be taken] in this branch of expense.[17]

From 1844, in three consecutive annual reports, the lack of money available for the purchase of specimens for the Museum was raised. This may well have affected the flow of colonial acquisitions. However, the Society continued to make steady progress in terms of acquiring material, relying on their supporters to supply them with specimens:

> The progress of the Museum has been steady and satisfactory, and when it is borne in mind that not a single draught has been made upon the Society's funds for the

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[14] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1835-36
[15] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1822-23
[16] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1835-36
[17] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1836-37

> purchase of Specimens, this will partially explain why the numerical amount of accessions may appear less than on former sessions.[18]

Possibly owing to the Society's inability to purchase specimens, a request was made in 1840 to members that they make donations of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles or fish which could be used to study comparative anatomy, a subject which was very popular at the time.[19] The emphasis was for the use of specimens as study aids, not for display, the Society declaring that the state of the specimen did not matter. They specifically requested that these specimens should be 'more especially those of our own Island' as they 'ought first to claim our attention'.[20] Although this was the case, it is evident that there was a response to this appeal in terms of colonial donations; a peak can be seen in 1840 (Figure 8.5).

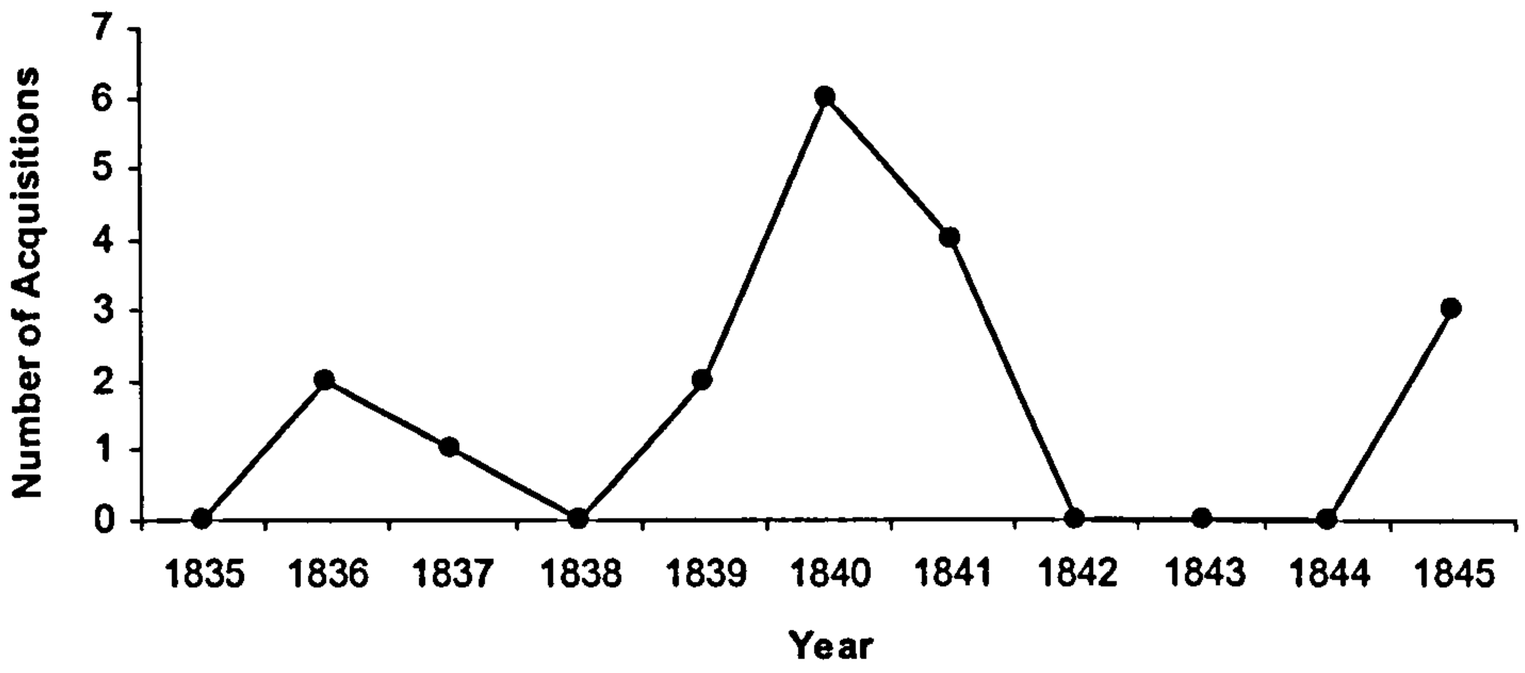

Figure 8.5 The number of Australian, Indian and African acquisitions (natural history and ethnographic) made each year by the Leeds PLS from 1835 to 1845.

The majority of these donations were zoological and clearly would be useful in comparative anatomy, such as skeletons of the ostrich and spoonbill, and therefore it can be assumed that the donation of this material was in response to the appeal, despite the request for British specimens.

8.3.2 Providers of colonial material: the high-positioned and wealthy

Although it has been revealed that the Society purchased colonial material, the majority was

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[18] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47
[19] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1840-41
[20] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1840-41

donated. When looking in more detail at the donors of colonial material, a strong pattern is evident; the majority of the donors during this period were members of the Leeds PLS. However, they were not just ordinary members of the Society but members who held or went on to hold high positions from council members to president (Table 8.1). It is interesting to look at these donors in more depth as they seem to share a number of other common characteristics.

Table 8.1 *Donors of colonial material (1818-1850) who also held positions within the Leeds PLS.*

Year of donation	Name of donor	Donation	Position in society
1823; 1840	William Hey (the second)	a collection of insects from Africa, with many single specimens in natural history; maritime rat, mole of the Cape (*Bathyergus maritimus*)	President 1830-32
1828	Edward Sanderson George	a number of birds including those from Africa and India	Member of the Council; Honorary Secretary; Honorary Curator
1828, 1847	Edward Baines	25 skins of birds from Singapore and Bengal; skin of the kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*)	Member of the Council
1829	John Marshall	skull of the Asiatic elephant (*Elephas asiaticus*), 2 skulls and several horns of the wild bull of India (*Bos gour*), tusks of the wild boar and canine teeth of the tiger, &c.	President 1819-26
1831	John Hey	Bengal roller (*Coriacias bengalensis*) and Indian grackle (*Gracula religiosa*)	Honorary Curator and Librarian 1829-37
1839	Thomas Pridgrin Teale	skull of the two-horned rhinoceros of the Cape (*Rhinoceros bicornis*)	President 1861-63
1840	Thomas Blayds	specimen of the wombat	Treasurer
1841	Henry Denny	skeleton of the Indian boa (*Python tigris*)	Curator 1826-71
1845	Thomas Nunneley	skins of the leopard, pigmy antelope, genette, hoopoe and kingfisher, &c.	Secretary 1835-43

William Hey (the second), the first colonial donor listed in Table 8.1, made two colonial donations to the Society, both of which were from Africa. The first donation could be described as a collection (of insects), the second, two single specimens (a mole and a rat). No evidence has been found of Hey visiting Africa, however, when looking in more detail at Hey, and the family from which he came, possible ways by which he came to possess this material can be hypothesised. William Hey was a member of a very well-respected family in

Leeds; a number of generations were surgeons at the Leeds General Infirmary. They had very close connections with the Leeds PLS. William Hey (the first) (1736-1819) was involved in a former Leeds Philosophical Society (established in 1783) which ceased to exist, and also presided over the preliminary meeting in which it was resolved that the Leeds PLS should be formed (Clark 1924: 2 & 13). William Hey (the second) (1771-1844), who is believed to be the donor of the material listed above, was an important figure in Leeds. Like his father he was Mayor of Leeds (1820 and 1831) and a surgeon at Leeds Infirmary (Anning 1966: 143). He was an active member of the Leeds PLS, again being present at the preliminary meeting, going on to be become President from 1831-1833, as well as giving a number of lectures at the Society meetings (Clark 1924: 13-14). A donation was also received from a William Hey in 1845 of the skin of an Indian boa (*Python tigris*). As this was the year after William Hey (the second) died, it is highly likely that it was from William Hey the third, who again, like his father and grandfather was a surgeon at Leeds Infirmary and an active member of the Leeds PLS (Anning 1966: 143). This family of surgeons were obviously wealthy and well-connected and as no evidence has been found of any of them travelling to the colonies, there is a high probability that they knew someone who had travelled, and/or used some of their fortune to purchase these specimens and then pass them on to the Society. As they were closely involved with the Society, it is not surprising that they were keen to augment the Museum with specimens. The two William's were not the only members of the Hey family to be involved in the Leeds PLS and donate colonial material to the Society. Mr John Hey (the son of William Hey the first) was the donor of two Indian birds in 1831, and Honorary Curator and Librarian of the Society (Clark 1924: 146). Samuel Hey also made a donation of eight species of Australian birds slightly later on in this period, in 1847. He was the grandson of William Hey the first, cousin to William Hey the third. Like many of the other members of the Hey family he practiced as a surgeon. There is evidence that he travelled, but only as far as France and Germany (Anning 1966: 140). Although he did not hold an official position in the Society, he was involved in its activities (Clark 1924: 133).

Another President of the Society who donated colonial material during this period was John Marshall (1765-1845) (Figure 8.6). His donation consisted of osteological material from Africa and India. He can be compared to the members of the Hey family, as he was also a well-respected, wealthy citizen of Leeds. He played a part in the politics of the area as an MP for Yorkshire (1826), but is probably better known for the innovations he made to flax spinning through the application of machinery. It was this business that made him his fortune (Spartacus Educational 2002). Again, Marshall had a close involvement with the Society. Like William Hey (the first and second), he was a firm supporter of the Leeds PLS from its formation, present at the preliminary meeting of its establishment and supporting the Society when it experienced financial difficulties (Clark 1924: 14). For example, he bought shares

worth £500 in the original Leeds PLS building, helping to make up the deficit in money spent to build the hall.[21] He was described in an early annual report as:

> one of the earliest and most firm supporters of this Institution [Leeds PLS] from its commencement, in which he [John Marshall] took so active and prominent a part. Indeed, it is mainly to him and to the late Benj. Gott, Esq., that we owe the building in which we assemble.[22]

He was a great believer in education; in addition to calling for the establishment of the University of Leeds, he was also a founder of London University. He delivered a number of lectures to the Society on political economy and geology which were his particular interests (Clark 1924: 14). Following his role as President, he continued to be involved in the Society's affairs, advising them, especially on the subject of management. In addition to the osteological material he donated, he also made a couple of other small donations to the Society, including a copy of *Fossil Fish* by Louis Agassiz for use in the library.[23] No evidence was found of Marshall visiting the colonies of Africa or India, where his donation originated. However, like the Hey family his position in society, as an MP and businessman would have given him numerous connections and he would have had the resources to purchase collections.

Figure 8.6 John Marshall (1765-1845) (reproduced with kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

Thomas Pridgrin Teale (MRCS, FRCS and FRS) again fits in well with the characteristics of colonial donors displayed up to this point. He made two colonial donations both of which were single specimens from Africa. The first donation, made in 1839, was the

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[21] Council minutes of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 14th July 1820
[22] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1845-46
[23] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1845-46

skull of a two-horned rhinoceros and the second was a crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*) donated in 1852. He again would have been well-known by the medical community of Leeds, as he was employed as a surgeon. He joined the Leeds PLS in its third session in 1823 and from then on took an active part in its affairs especially those of the Museum. He donated a large amount of money when the original Leeds PLS Hall was enlarged and canvassed for others to do so too. As President he opened the first session in the new building. During his time with the Society, he also played important roles as a member of the Council, Vice-President and Honorary Curator of Zoology, as well as presenting original scientific papers.[24] He was a promoter of education; a founder of the Leeds Medical School and a lecturer there for 35 years. Again there is no evidence of him travelling to Africa, although he did travel to Paris as part of his medical training (Mayhall 1878: 100-101).

It was earlier hypothesised that the lack of evidence of travel by these donors indicates that this colonial material may have been purchased. This is demonstrated by Edward Sanderson George (FLS), a chemical manufacturer. He purchased a collection of birds, which included a number of African and Indian specimens, which he went on to donate to the Society. Again, he played an important role in the development of the Leeds PLS, credited for, 'initiating the geological and zoological collections of the Museum', both through the gifts he made and the example he offered (Clark 1924: 12-13). He was present at the preliminary meeting, was a member of the Council, Honorary Secretary and Curator and contributed papers of geology and chemistry (*ibid.*).

It was not only the high-positioned member of the Leeds PLS who donated foreign material, those who held less prominent positions within the Society (yet still played important roles in its development) also provided the Museum with colonial specimens. Thomas Blayds presented the Society with two African birds in 1840 (he also donated a mummy). He was a wealthy and well-known man; a partner in the Leeds Bank of Beckett, Blayds and Co., and Mayor of Leeds in 1827. He was a backer of the Leeds PLS from its foundation; present at the preliminary meeting and the Society's first treasurer. He also contributed papers (*ibid.*: 12). Edward Baines was another great supporter of the Society; again present at the preliminary meeting, involved in the formation of the Society, and accredited of writing the article which first suggested the formation of a philosophical society in Leeds (*ibid*: 5). He was a member of the Council and contributed many papers as well as numerous bird skins from India (*ibid*: 12). He was well-known throughout Leeds as the proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury* and an MP of Leeds.[25] Baines offers a definite example of a donor who obtained colonial material indirectly through another person. The bird skins from India, which he donated in 1828, were acquired through a Mr J. Caufurd.

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[24] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1867-68
[25] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1889-90

This section has revealed that this period was quite an unsettled one for the Society, with several problems such as space and finance. One of the biggest worries was the lack of space, which caused many important and valuable specimens to be stored in boxes and drawers that were well out of sight of visitors to the Museum, rather than being put on display. The Society realised that by doing this they were detracting people from donating. If people knew that their donation had no chance of going on display, it was very unlikely they would donate it, even if the specimen would be well cared for. They would have been no use to the museum visitor or scientific enquirer so could be viewed as 'valueless'.[26] However, throughout this time the success of the Museum continued:

> It may be pleasing to record, that as the Society's museum is becoming more and more perfect, it continues to create an increasing interest as a public feature, and it is to be hoped tends to cultivate the taste of the humbler classes of society, who see and find abundant opportunities of gratuitous admission.[27]

The international perspective that the Society wished to give during this period was made clear by the request they made for foreign donations, the colonial material they acquired and the international journals they subscribed to.[28] However, it should not be forgotten that material from Britain was also important to the Society. The people who donated colonial material shared a number of common characteristics. Firstly, despite the fact that they all donated material from the colonies, there is no evidence that the donors collected the specimens themselves. The fact that they may not have been collectors of colonial material is emphasized through the type of donation they made, the majority comprising not of large collections but single miscellaneous objects/specimens. For example, John Hey donated a Bengal roller and an Indian grackle and Thomas Blayds donated a wombat. In some cases, such as Edward Baines and Edward Sanderson George, there is hard evidence that they obtained them through other sources. These men all had close associations with the Leeds PLS, they were middle class, wealthy and well-respected, holding occupations such as surgeons and political positions, and therefore were sure to have a wide variety of contacts at their disposal whom they could exploit and also had the money to purchase specimens from natural history dealers or sale rooms. Even so, the number of colonial acquisitions made by these people was not great. Whether the financial problems or lack of space had a direct effect on colonial donations, causing these low levels, is difficult to conclude, especially as it did not seem to affect the overall number of donations made to the Museum, which would be

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[26] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1838-39
[27] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1841-42
[28] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47

expected if this was the case. The following section will continue to analyse colonial acquisition flow, investigating the peak of colonial donations experienced in the 1850s and 1860s by the Leeds PLS.

8.4 A prosperous period (1850-1869): an extension and increased amount colonial material

8.4.1 The movement of colonial material

The period of 1850 to 1869 was the most fruitful in terms of the number of colonial acquisitions received by the Leeds PLS (Figure 8.1). In comparison to the previous 30 years, this era brought with it prosperity. Financial problems which had previously plagued the Society finally started to improve. The debt which the Society had accumulated was paid off when the final proprietary share was bought by one of the members, and the Society successfully canvassed a number of people in the town who were interested in science and literature to join the Society.[29] The number of members rose from 246 in 1857 to 508 in 1862.[30] The improving fortunes of the Leeds PLS allowed money to be invested in acquisitions, including those of a colonial nature. During this time 12 colonial acquisitions (11% of all colonial acquisitions) were purchased directly by the Society. These included African, Indian and Australian acquisitions, all of which were natural history apart from one which was ethnographic (two shields made of rhinoceros skin from India). The natural history acquisitions were zoological, mostly mammalian and included specimens such as the molar tooth of the African elephant and a pair of the horned Indian pheasant. These acquisitions were never collections, the majority were single specimens, possibly owing to the high cost associated with the purchase of major collections.

The success of the Society, especially the Museum, continued in the 1850s, the Society claiming that the Museum was, 'equal if not superior to that of any other Provincial Institution'.[31] This statement illustrates that there was competition between institutions of individual towns. As well as experiencing an increase in the number of colonial acquisitions, there was also a rise in the total number of acquisitions received. Valuable donations continued to be received, the Society recording that they held 7000 geological, 1300 mineralogical and 6000 zoological specimens.[32] Throughout this period the annual reports commented that the specimens received were remarkable. The 40th year saw the Society in

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[29] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1849-50
[30] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1862-63
[31] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1856-57
[32] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1856-57

high spirits; its prosperity was attributed to the success of the Museum and its increasing appreciation, and the reading of papers. The 41st annual report (1860) testified that the Museum was the most important department of the Society, 'steadily increasing in usefulness and public favour'. In that year alone it attracted 16,800 penny visitors. The Society was extremely satisfied with the variety of specimens it held, often boasting about its content:

> the museum contains an example of every known genus of pachydermata.[33]

The Museum was clearly receiving a lot of attention during this period both from visitors and curatorial staff. Considerable alterations were made to its arrangement, re-arranging specimens and writing accompanying labels. This was done:

> in order to place it in a position befitting the increasing importance of this great Capital of the West Riding: not only as regards its scientific and literary character, but also the interest and value of the Specimens it contains.[34]

This illustrates the notion of the Museum invoking civic pride, the Museum had to live up to the standard of the town within which it was situated. With this re-arrangement, it was discovered that some orders and genera were not represented, including important examples which were needed to exhibit, 'the variations of form and structure'.[35] To resolve this, an appeal was made to noblemen and gentlemen of the area for money with which the 'missing' specimens could be purchased. The response was not disappointing, the Society received £152 10s, as well as some specimens.[36] These donations included colonial specimens, for example, Sir George Goodman[37] donated 14 Australian birds, The Right Hon. Earl Fitzwilliam[38] donated a black-handed kangaroo, the Walkers of Stanley Hall, near Ripon, made three separate donations which included a number of South African zoological specimens and Mr. James Farrer M.P. of Ingleborough House donated magnificent specimens

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[33] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1860-61. Pachydermata are hoofed animals distinguished for the thickness of their skins, for example elephants, hippopotamus and rhinoceros'.
[34] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59
[35] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59
[36] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59
[37] Sir George Goodman, M.P., was the first mayor of the borough of Leeds under the Municipal Corporations Act (1836) (Baines 1870: 182).
[38] Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam was the third Earl Fitzwilliam. He was educated at Trinity College Cambridge. He represented Malton and Yorkshire in the House of Commons and was an advocate for non-payment of tax and the repeal of the Corn Law. In 1851 he was made a knight of the Garter. He was a fellow of the Royal Society (1811), and President of the British Association (1831) and Statistical Society (Smith 2004a).

of the scarlet flamingo, an Australian pelican, and a desert lizard (*Molochus horridus*) from Australia.

As acquisitions continued to be made, the space dilemma which had previously been a problem, continued to be a cause for concern:

> with reference to the Museum the Council have again to regret that a great want of space in various departments which prevents the proper display of the numerous specimens now accumulated within its walls.[39]

Plans were made to enlarge the Museum, and culminated in an extension to the Leeds PLS Hall which began in 1860. This extension was on a much larger scale than the first effort to increase the hall's capacity and involved doubling the size of the Museum by erecting a new library, a 325 seat lecture hall and a huge top-lit zoology gallery measuring some 80ft by 45ft to the rear of the existing building. It was not only the interior but the exterior that was altered, remodelled in the Italianate manner (Brears & Davies 1989: 22). This may well have stimulated people to donate, for example, with the increased amount of space there was a greater guarantee that donations would be put on display.

Another important event which occurred during this period which could have affected donors in a positive manner was the addition of a rule concerning the property of the Society. On the 8th October 1860, it was passed:

> that in the event of the dissolution of the Society, its Property and Effects, whether real or personal, shall not be disposed of for the personal benefit of the Members, but shall be appropriated in such manner for the advancement of Science, Literature, or Art, in the town of Leeds, as shall be determined by a majority of the Members, at an Extraordinary Meeting to be convened for that purpose. But that no dissolution of the Society shall take place without the consent, in writing of a majority holding not less than two-thirds of the Proprietary Shares. [40]

Before this rule was introduced, donations may not have been made from those not belonging to the Society, because of the knowledge that their donation would enhance the value of the property of the original shareholders. The new rule changed this predicament, making the Society a public institution.[41]

Although the quantity of colonial material acquired was high, during this period there is no evidence of the Society appealing specifically for the donation of this material.

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[39] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1856-57
[40] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1861-62
[41] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1861-62

However, their continued interest in foreign specimens both natural and artificial, as well as colonial affairs in general, is highlighted in a number of ways, for example through the annual conversazione.[42] The event included talks, experiments and the exhibition of objects and attracted attention from the inhabitants of Leeds and beyond. This opportunity was used to exhibit 'trophies' from India taken during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 by Lieutenant Hill and Lieutenant H.H. Stansfield. During the same event, a lecture was given by Mr H.M. Greenhow, Medical Officer of the Indian Army, on the siege of Lucknow.[43] The Conversazione of 1866 included the exhibition of a variety of Indian curiosities lent by Captain Hill and also allowed Dr Heaton to give a short account of a series of photographs of Kaffirs and the scenery of Natal, contributed by Dr Mann of Natal.[44] Also, throughout its history, the lecture series offered by the Society often gave an international perspective, illustrating the members' interest in British colonial affairs (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2 *Lectures on topics of international affairs, especially those associated with British colonial expansion, given at the Leeds PLS.*

Date	Lecture	Read By
1847	On the contests between the English and French for Supremacy in India	Rev. William Sinclair
1857	On the Mogul Dynasty in India	W.E. Forster Esq
1858	The history of India	Viscount Goderich, M.P.
1860-1	On the Nations inhabiting the Arctic Regions of North America; their habits, customs, weapons, implements, &c.	Rear Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, C.B.[45]
1863-64	On the varieties of man in the Malay archipelago	A.R. Wallace Esq. F.R.G.S.[46]
1865-6	Some account of the New World Isthmus, with specimens and illustrations	Captain Pim R.N.
1868-69	The Abyssinian exhibition	Clements R. Markham, F.R.G.S.
1868-69	My ramblings in Persia	Prof. Arminius Vambrey
1870-71	Primitive civilization	Edward Burnett Tylor, Esq.,

[42] For further insight into the conversazione in Victorian England and the roles it played, see Alberti (2003b).
[43] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59
[44] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1866-67
[45] Sir Edward Belcher (1799 -1877) was a naval officer and hydrographer. As a naval officer he visited many parts of the world. He surveyed parts of Africa, North and South America, Borneo, the Philippines, Taiwan and the South Pacific. In 1852 was appointed to command an Arctic expedition in search of Sir John Franklin. He published a number of accounts of his voyages, including *The Last of the Arctic Voyages* 1855 (Laughton 2004).
[46] Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) was a naturalist, geographer, anthropologist and biologist. He is renowned for proposing a theory of evolution by natural selection, which in turn prompted Darwin to reveal his own research on the subject. He was a traveller, spending a number of years collecting specimens in Brazil and the East Indies. Wallace made observations of the marked zoological differences across a narrow zone in the Malay Archipelago led to his hypothesis of the zoogeographical boundary now known as the Wallace line. He was awarded many honours for his work including the Linnean Society's Gold Medal in 1892 (Smith 2004b).

Date	Lecture	Read By
		V.P. of Ethnological Society of London[47]
1876-77	The later geological periods in Europe, India, South Africa and Australia	P.M. Duncan M.D., F.R.S., Prof. of Geology, King's College, London, and President of the Geological Society
1876-77	Travels in Africa	Commander Cameron R.N., C.B.
Dec 2nd 1879	The Tasmanian aborigines: a history of an extinct race	Prof. W.H. Flower[48]
Jan 17th 1882	The value of India to England	Sir Richard Temple G.C.S.I., F.R.G.S.
Feb 19th 1884	A visitor to Cape Colony	Prof. A.H. Green M.A., F.G.S.
Oct 20th 1885	The native states of India	The Marquis of Ripon, K.G.
Nov 3rd 1885	The Hittite empire: the story of a long-forgotten nation	Rev. Canon H.B. Tristram, D.D., F.R.S.[49]
Nov 1st 1887	What I saw in Australia	Geo. Augustus Sala
March 1st 1892	Exploration among the ruined cities of Mashonaaland	J. Theodore Bent M.A.
March 6th 1894	Climbing and travelling among the great mountains of Asia	W.M. Conway
Dec 10th 1895	British expansion in Africa	Capt. F.D. Lugard C.B., D.S.O.
Nov 16th 1897	Travels in West Africa	Miss Mary Kingsley[50]
Nov 6th 1900	Facts and fancies about India	Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I.
Dec 4th 1900	Travels in the Eastern Himalaya	E.J. Garwood M.A., F.G.S.
Jan 20th 1903	Africa from South and North	Major A. St. H. Gibbons F.R.G.S.

This period also coincides with the Great Exhibition of 1851 (see section 1.8). This may well

[47] Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) was an important figure in establishing anthropology's place among the human sciences. Tylor, who specialized in primitive religion, was a professor and museum curator at Oxford University. His pioneering work was *Anthropology* (1881) (Holdsworth 2004).
[48] Sir William Henry Flower (1831-1899) was a naturalist and director of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. He was a leading authority on the arrangement of museums and introduced the new museum idea, recommending the separation of collections, one for the public and one for researchers. Flower was also noted for his anthropological work (Fletcher 2004).
[49] For information on Canon Tristram see section 6.2.4
[50] Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900) was an explorer and writer. She spent much time travelling in Africa, studying the people, as well as collecting valuable scientific specimens, many of which were donated to the British Museum. On her return to England she gave many lectures on her experiences, as well as publishing two books, *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and *West African Studies* (1899) which informed and influenced European views of Africans. She wanted to improve the situation in Africa, drawing attention to the injustices of the crown colony system of British rule (Birkett 2004).

have inspired the Leeds PLS to acquire more material from throughout the British Empire, and exhibit this material to the public. The following section will investigate in more detail who was providing the Society with this mass of colonial material during this period.

8.4.2 Providers of colonial material

During the previous period a typical colonial donor was identified. Table 8.3 illustrates that the Society continued to receive colonial material from this typical donor.

Table 8.3 *Donors of colonial material (1850-1869) who also held positions within the Leeds PLS.*

Year of donation	Name of donor	Donation	Position in society
1852	Thomas Pridgrin Teale	fine specimen of the crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*)	President 1861-63
1853	Rev Chas. Wicksteed	two frontal bones with horns of the gnu (*Catoblepas gnoo*); and steenbock (*Oryx tragulus*)	President 1850-54
1853	William Sykes Ward	horns of the Cape buffalo (*Bos caffer*) and spring bock (*Gazella enchors*)	Secretary 1840-69
1854	John Rhodes	horns of the Cape ox or africander	Treasurer of the building committee
1855; 1867	Edward Atkinson	several specimens of fish from India; two very fine specimens of the bony palates of species of ray, from Madras	President 1885-6; Honorary Curator of Zoology 1869-1904
1856	Thomas Nunneley	stuffed specimen of the South African lion	Secretary 1835-43
1856; 1861; 1861	William Boyne	skull of the gnu from South Africa and specimen of the boa from Port Natal; milk bottle, langa balana, wooden milk jar, 3 caffir spoons, 2 leather figures - costume of male and female; collection of natural history	Member of the Council
1859; 1860; 1864	Peter O' Callaghan	fine specimen of the wedgetailed eagle from Australia; wild boar of India (*Sus scrofa*); egg of the emu and casts of the eggs of the dinornis and aepyornis, specimen of cyclodus-nigro-luteus from Australia.	Secretary 1858-63
1863	William Gott	a magnificent specimen of the Bengal tiger (*Leo tigris*)	Chairman of the building committee

In addition to holding high-positions within the Leeds PLS, these donors also shared a number of other characteristics with the donors of the early period. Firstly, the type of donation made was similar, consisting of single specimens, suggesting that these people may

not have collected the specimens themselves. There is no evidence for example that the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, a Unitarian minister in Leeds and President of the Leeds PLS or Thomas Nunneley (MRCS, LSA, FRCS), who spent his life working as a surgeon in Leeds (Anning 1966: 159) travelled to the colonies and collected there. Like the earlier donors they not only held high positions within the Leeds PLS but also within the town of Leeds. John Rhodes (Treasurer of the Building Committee), for example, who contributed a pair of Cape ox horns from Africa was described as, 'one of the most generous and capable citizens of Leeds of that time' (Clark 1924: 133). He was a wealthy man, firstly employed in the offices of the Aire and Calder Navigation Company before setting up his own business as a stocks and shares broker in 1844. He supported many artistic and charitable institutions in Leeds such as the Leeds PLS, not only donating specimens but also making financial donations. Although there is no evidence that he visited Africa, or was a naturalist collector himself, he was known to have his own collection of art which was said to be the finest in Northern England.[51]

It is apparent therefore, that these people were not the individuals who collected this material but came to possess it by some other means. The donation by William Gott (1797-1863) of, 'a magnificent specimen of the Bengal tiger (*Leo tigris*)' (Figure 8.7) made in 1863, illustrates an alternative means (other than travelling and collecting themselves) by which Society members obtained colonial material.

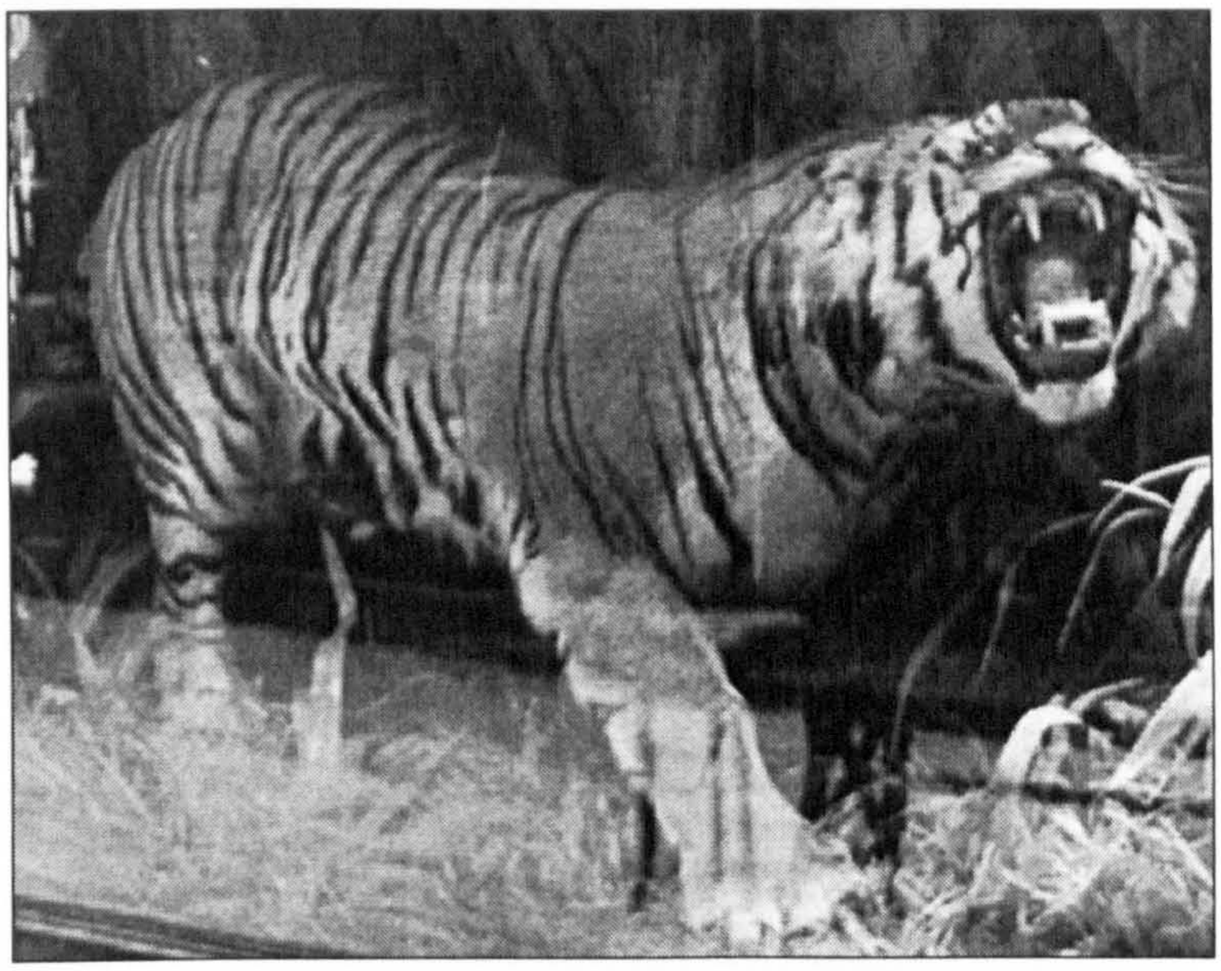

Figure 8.7 Bengal Tiger donated by William Gott (1797-1863) in 1863 (reproduced with the kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

[51] Obituary from the *Leeds Mercury*, 17th May 1898, page 9 and 19th May, page 9.

Like his father (Benjamin Gott [1782-1840]), William Gott was interested in the development of the Society since its formation, and after his death was remembered for the remarkable contributions he made to the collection and the important financial assistance he gave to the Leeds PLS.[52] It was not only the Leeds PLS however who benefited from his generosity, other institutions of the town also gaining advantage:

> he always manifested an earnest interest in its prosperity and progress [in the Leeds PLS], as he did in that of every other Institution of his native town which had for its object the moral and intellectual welfare of its inhabitants or the alleviation of human suffering.[53]

The specimen in question, the Bengal tiger, was actually purchased by Gott for the Society. The animal was shot by Colonel Charles Reid C.B. (later Major General Sir Charles Reid) (Figure 8.8), member of the Gurkahs, before being displayed in the Indian Court of the International Exhibition of 1862 (Norris 1985a).

Figure 8.8 Major-General Sir Charles Reid (reproduced with the kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

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[52] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1863-64
[53] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1866-67

The tiger was perceived as a very valuable specimen by the Society:

> [the Bengal Tiger] has been pronounced by Professor Owen to be unequalled in Europe, either for its extraordinary size or its artistic and life-like setting up.[54]

The value placed on this specimen is echoed by the way it was exhibited in the Museum, placed in the centre of the main zoological room, and described as, 'the most attractive object in the collection'.[55]

One of the major differences between the colonial donors of this period and the latter is, unlike the previous era there is evidence that some high positioned Society members may well have collected the colonial material they donated. Mr Edward Atkinson (1830-1905) made three separate donations of colonial material to the Society. The first two were made in 1855 and 1867, both comprising of fish specimens from India. The final donation, an emerald cuckoo (*Chrysococcyx smaragdineus*), was made in 1898, but unlike the other donations this was not from India but was from Cape Colony, Africa. There is evidence available informing us that Atkinson did travel. At the young age of 17 he joined the merchant service and went on a voyage to India, a possible source for the first two donations. Following this he studied Medicine at Kings' College Hospital, before going on to work in the civil service during the Crimean War in Scutari. In 1855 he was made assistant surgeon at the British Civil Hospital, Smyrna which was followed by a long residence in Jerusalem where he spent four years at the English Prussian Deaconesses' Hospital (Anning 1966: 119). His first donation was therefore made just before the Crimean War and the final two colonial donations made on his return to England, on which he worked in Leeds in partnership with William Hey (the third) who was his uncle. Atkinson was a surgeon at Leeds Public Dispensary from 1864 until he was appointed to the staff of the Infirmary in July 1874 and promoted to consultant surgeon in 1894 (*ibid.*). These were not the only donations Atkinson made to the Society. Overall he made a total of nine donations, the contents of which suggest that he himself was a keen naturalist with an interest in ichthyology. His interests and competence in natural history are also echoed by the fact that he was made a Fellow of the Linnean Society (*ibid.*). His first donation, which was made in 1848 (on his return from the merchant service), was made up of several species of fish and a green snake from the East Indies (he may well have travelled to the East Indies with the merchant service). He also made numerous donations of natural history specimens from Jerusalem which he donated between 1858 and 1862. These were obviously collected whilst he was working at the English Hospital and Prussian Deaconesses'

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[54] Annual Report of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, 1862-63
[55] Annual Report of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, 1862-63

Hospital in Jerusalem. His final donations on his return to Leeds, included local specimens and more collections of a foreign nature; a collection of insects from British Columbia, Canada (1866) and Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Africa (1898).

Although a large period of Atkinson's life was spent abroad, his connections to the Society were very strong, illustrated by his position as President (1885-6) and Honorary Curator of Zoology (1869-1904). He also gave numerous lectures at the Leeds PLS on the subject of his travels, for example, 'the subterranean explorations in Jerusalem' (1864-5) and six lectures on the Palestine Map presented to the Society by Mr. W.H. Rinder (1895-6) (Clark 1924: 180 & 198). Similar to a number of other Society members, he was part of the close association which the Society formed with the Yorkshire College, appointed on the Board of Governors,[56] and later lecturing there in surgery (Clark 1924: 141).

Like Atkinson, Colonel William H. Sykes (1790-1872) took the travel opportunity that his job offered to make collections whilst abroad. In 1863 he donated a collection of quadrupeds and birds from India:

> with a patriotic recollection of his native country, [he] has presented us with a large collection of Quadrupeds and Birds, formed during his long military service in India.[57]

Sykes worked within the British Colonial regime as a member of the Bombay army from 1803 (whilst only 13). He was a soldier until 1820 during which time he travelled within Europe, and took part in a scientific study. Following this, he returned to Bombay and was appointed statistical reporter. This office was abolished in 1829, but he carried on working until 1831. Whilst in India he completed a census, two statistical reports and a complete natural history of the Deccan (the Deccan is a vast plateau in India, encompassing most of Central and Southern India). He published a catalogue of birds and mammals of the Deccan in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* in 1832, which included 56 birds new to science. He retired from the army in 1833, having attained the rank of Colonel. During his time in India he made collections of both birds and animals. No doubt, like many other members of the army, especially those with higher appointments such as officer, he participated in natural history pursuits as a recreational activity. As a soldier, he would have been an expert with the gun allowing him to shoot and make collections of birds and mammals. Known as an ornithologist, he wrote papers on the quail and hemipodes of India and also studied the fish of the area. On his return to England, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society and became a founder of the Statistical Society of London (1834), later he was made a Council member and

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[56] Council minutes of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 21st September 1882
[57] Annual Report of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, 1862-63

Vice-president. He also took a political path, becoming an MP for Aberdeen in 1857. He still however took an interest in his former country of residence holding the position of Chairman of the East India Company (1856-7) and President of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1858. Even though the majority of his life was spent living outside Leeds (on his return from India he lived in London), his connection to Leeds (Sykes was born in Yorkshire) was not forgotten (Roberts 2005).

Up until this point, the colonial donors described have all been donors of natural history material. William Boyne (1814-1893), was quite unique as he was the first colonial donor to donate both natural history and ethnographic material to the Leeds PLS. He was firstly a member of the Leeds PLS (1846) before becoming a member of the Society's Council in 1850 and an Honorary member until his death. William Boyne was a native of Leeds, the son of Thomas Boyne, tobacco and snuff manufacturer, a business which he entered into after his education.[58] He also developed a keen interest in numismatics and was actively involved in the arrangement of the Society's coin collection.[59] The majority of donations he made to the Leeds PLS were of African origin. In 1855 he donated a very large and varied natural history collection comprising of skins, skulls, teeth and horns of African mammals, four eggs of the ostrich, specimens of snakes, a bat, 30 skins of birds and several insects from Port Natal. In 1856 this theme continued with the donation of another skull, that of the gnu from South Africa and more snake specimens (of the Boa) from Port Natal. His final donation was made in 1861, which was a preserved head, foot and skull of the two horned rhinoceros of South Africa, the skull of the African elephant, the jaw of the Asiatic elephant and skulls of the spotted hyena and teit bok of South Africa. Also recorded in this year is an ethnographic donation made by a Mr William Boyner, consisting of a number of items, such as milk bottle, wooden milk jar and caffir spoons from Natal. This is almost certainly a spelling mistake and was in fact material donated by William Boyne.

Boyne was better-known as a numismatist than a naturalist, writing on the subject and giving lectures as part of the Leeds PLS lecture series in 1848 (Clark 1924: 169). He also made extensive collections of engravings and lithographs of the places he visited (University of Toronto Library 2004). Boyne did spend time travelling in Africa in the 1850s, so I suggest that it was during this time that he collected African material. The reason for his travel is not known, but the fact that he was a wealthy man and that he retired from his business in the same period, points to the fact that he may possibly have travelled for pleasure. It seems that he did not collect this material for his own collection, but directly for the benefit of the Leeds PLS, as he donated the major part of his collection to the Society directly on his return to Leeds.

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[58] Information taken from the obituary of Boyne in the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, 2nd December 1893.
[59] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47

Another important source of colonial material for the Leeds PLS during this period was from the Mayor of Leeds. Each year the Mayor would present the Society with a gift for the Museum. This was clearly an opportunity for the Mayor to impress and indeed it was taken, in some cases by donating very exotic and rare specimens, often colonial. One of the most memorable Mayor's gifts was made by Andrew Fairbairn, when in 1867 he donated a fine articulated skeleton of the giraffe (*Giraffe camelopardalis*):

> Foremost among the objects that have been added to the department of comparative Anatomy, is the munificent contribution by the Mayor of Leeds of a Skeleton of the Giraffe. In order to further the study of the Anatomy of the different groups of Animals, the formation of a series of illustrations of the bony framework of the various genera has long engaged the attention of the Curators of Zoology, and the Museum possesses a valuable collection of many of the most remarkable forms. The genus Giraffa, however, has long been unrepresented, and the Society is therefore greatly indebted to Mr. Fairbairn for the readiness with which, as soon as he was informed that a perfect skeleton might be obtained from the College of Surgeons in London, he offered to present it to the Museum as his Mayor's gift.[60]

Peter Fairbairn, Mayor of Leeds also presented the Museum with colonial material. In 1858 he donated five quadrupeds from Australia: the koala (*Phascolarctos fuscus*), spotted dasyurus (*Dasyurus viverrinus*), Pademelon wallaby (*Halmaturus theidis*), striped parameles (*Parameles fasciata*) and vulpine phalanger (*Palangista vulpina*). In addition to Mayors, local politicians also supplied the Museum with colonial material. For example William Aldam MP made two donations, the first in 1841 of an African ostrich (*Struthio camelus*), a white spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*), and a two-toed ant-eater (*Myrmecophaga didactyla*) and the second in 1858 of a kangaroo. James Farrer (1812-1879) MP for South Durham donated colonial material in the form of a magnificent specimen of the scarlet flamingo, Australian pelican, and a desert lizard (*Molochus horridus*) from Australia in 1862. It could be asked why an MP from Durham would donate material to the Leeds PLS. One possible explanation is that he was influenced by Henry Denny, the curator of the Leeds PLS Museum at the time. The two were definitely in correspondence as Farrer's obituary refers to a letter which he wrote to Denny in regard to some archaeological research he was carrying out on bones in the caves of West Riding.[61]

This was not the only acquisition that Denny may have influenced; he can be accredited for many of the donations, including colonial donations, made to the Leeds PLS.

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[60] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1866-67
[61] *The Times*, 8th June 1879

As curator of the Leeds PLS, Denny was highly involved in the acquisitions which were made. Alberti (2001b: 14) notes that:

> he painstakingly built up an extensive network of correspondents around the globe, establishing Leeds as the hub to which his allies in foreign parts – usually local notables on tour – sent their prime specimens.

Denny was in contact with many naturalists, including William Jardine,[62] and was an active member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The contacts he made were used to secure donations as well as money which could be used to purchase specimens:

> He devoted his life and soul to the museum. Many of the finest donations to the Museum were due to the early information, vigilance, and canvass of the "Sub-Curator."... Henry Denny was responsible for the objects that the Society got mostly purchased at the cost of wealthy friends of the Society. (Clark 1924: 149)

He was also astute to other possible sources of donations such as the availability of material from menageries. In 1851 a donation of a skeleton of the Indian boa (*Python tigris*) was made by Mrs Wombwell, wife of Mr Wombwell, the owner of Wombwell's menagerie (see section 1.6.4):

> Denny had a wonderful instinct for scenting out fatalities of valuable animals in travelling menageries, and still further in scenting out good friends to subscribe and purchase these 'fatalities'. (Clark 1924: 130)

Denny also used this source to purchase an elephant skeleton.[63]

As has already been demonstrated, obtaining money was an important path by which colonial specimens were obtained by the Leeds PLS. This applied both in respect to donors purchasing collections for the Society, or people donating money to the Society which could then be used for particular purchases. Denny was instrumental in this process, making contacts and using his canvassing skills to attract people to donate or purchase specimens for

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[62] Sir William Jardine (1800-1874) studied literature and medicine at Edinburgh University, but his interests included anatomy, geology, ornithology, botany, and ichthyology. These are echoed in publications including *Illustrations of Ornithology*, whish was issued jointly with Selby in 1827-35. He travelled widely, both in Europe and worldwide, and was a member of a number of provincial natural history societies, including Northumberland and was also a fellow of the Linnean Society and the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh (Jackson 2004b).

[63] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1847-48
Saffron Walden NHS (see section 4.2.1) and Liverpool Museum (see section 6.2.6) also received colonial material from Mr Wombwell.

the Society. For example, Denny attained £60 from George Noble, which he brought with him to London and bought a female and two cubs of the Tasmanian wolf, as well as other desiderata including colonial material such as a giant kangaroo, koala, echidna, and two rare species of Colobus monkey.[64]

Not all colonial donors had clear connections with the Society. Colonial collections were also received from those who did not have such obvious relations with the Society, for example, Mr. W.H. Benson (1803-1870), a well-known naturalist. Benson was a pioneer in the field of Indian malacology and has been described as the first and the most inspiring malacologist in India (Naggs 1997a: 24). He made an outstanding contribution to this field of study publishing over 50 papers on land snails in journals such as the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (of which he was editor) (Naggs 1997a, 1997b). Not surprisingly then, his donation to the Leeds PLS, made in 1861, included several specimens of Indian snails. Benson lived in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, working for the Bengal Civil Service and it is here where he made one of the earliest known collections of southern Asian land and water snails. These collections are extremely important as they include numerous type specimens as well as endemic species, a number of which are now extinct (*ibid.*). In addition to the Leeds PLS, Benson's collection was housed in other museums such as the British Museum (Natural History) and the Museum of Zoology in Cambridge, where they can still be found today (University Museum of Zoology Cambridge 2004). He is also known to have presented specimens to the Zoological Society of London (Anon 1834: 89-91). His reason for donating to Leeds PLS is unknown, evidence of connections with the Society or the town of Leeds has not been found. However, Leeds itself did have a connection to the subject of conchology, the Conchological Society of Great Britain was founded in the town of Leeds (Crowley 1975; Jackson 1927; Norris 1982; Norris 1985b). It is likely that Benson was involved in the Conchology Society and as many of its founder members were based in Leeds, he would have also had contact with the Leeds PLS.

Surprisingly, the Museum received only a small amount of material directly from colonial employees, for example, those in the army or missionaries. Two very famous specimens donated during this period were the product of colonial employment; a yak (Figure 8.9) and argali (which was recoded as originating from India) donated by Captain Edmund Smyth (1823-1911) to the Society in 1863. At the time this donation was made, the yak and argali were very rare and remarkable animals. Smyth had no particular connection with Leeds. It seems that he was eager to donate specimens not only to the Leeds PLS, but also to a number of other museums in England:

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[64] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1862-63

> In the month of March last [1856], a communication on behalf of Captain Edmund Smyth, of the 13th Bengal Infantry, was made to the Library and Museum Committee in this town, stating that Captain Smyth, then absent on the Turkish Contingent, was desirous of presenting to the British Museum, and the Museums of Edinburgh and Liverpool, skins of the Yak and other ruminating Animals recently shot by him in the Himalayas. (Anon 1857: 43)

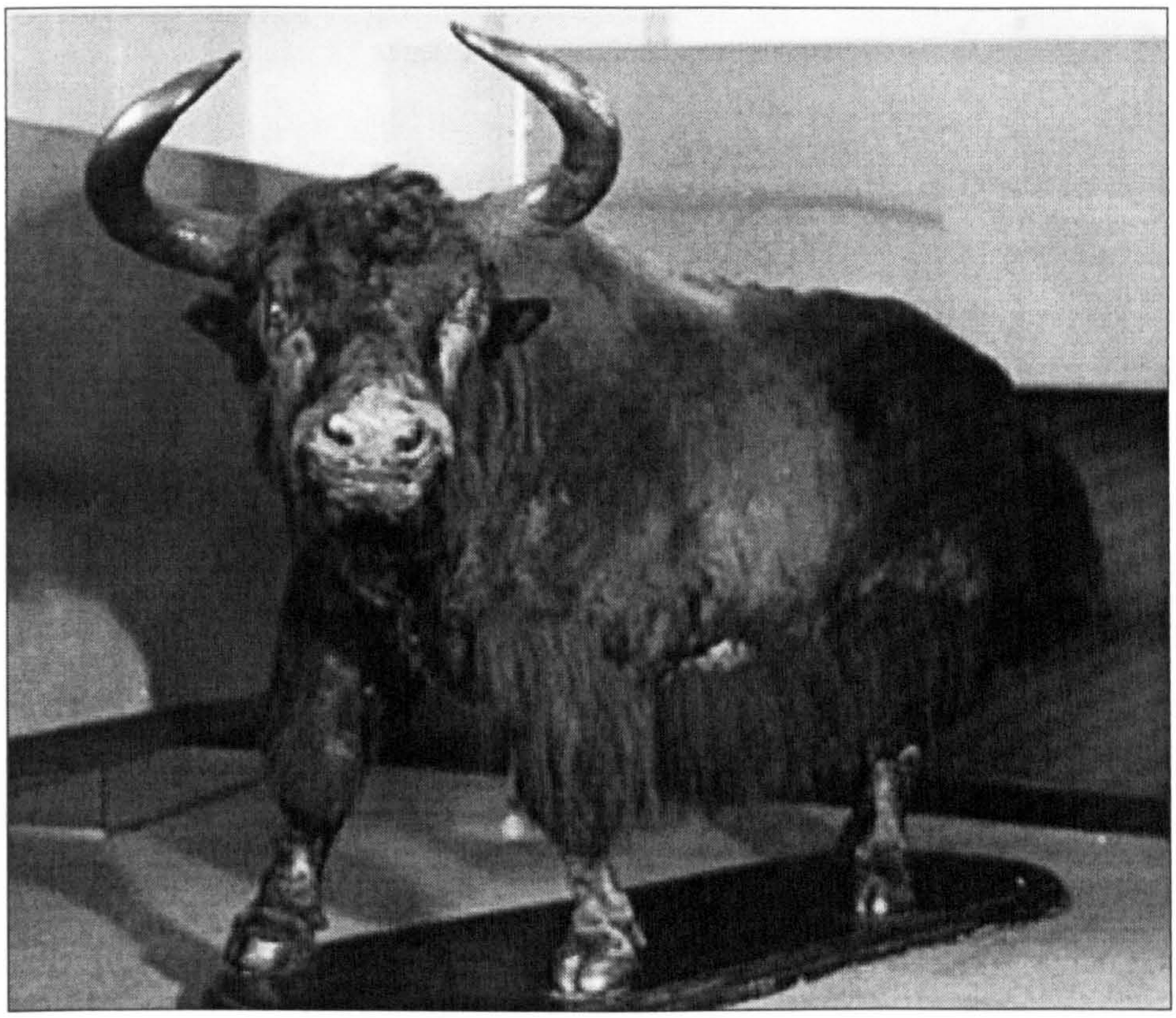

Figure 8.9 The yak donated by Captain Edmund Smyth (1823-1911) in 1863 (reproduced with the kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

Smyth is better known for his pioneering hunting (having spent time collecting with John Hanning Speke) and mountain trips into the Himalayas; he was the first non-native recorded as mountaineering there. The donation of the yak and argali, which was recorded as originating from India, has since been proved false, their origin was actually Tibet (Norris 1986: 52). Capt. Smyth was employed as an Education officer by the Government at the time and he and his friend Hon. Robert Drummond, also a Government officer, went on many hunting expeditions together which went against a government ban on entering Tibet. These trips had to be kept a secret for this reason and also because Drummond's brother was the Lieutnant-Govenor of the newly-formed North-Western Province (*ibid.*). The Leeds yak was

shot on the shores of the sacred lake of Manasarover in Tibet in 1860, violating not only British and Indian laws of the time but also the Tibetan religion in one of its most sacred sites (*ibid.*: 53). For this reason, details of their activities were slow to emerge. Smyth does not seem to have any direct connection with Leeds or the Leeds PLS. He did make donations to other museums such as the British Museum, the Derby Museum (see section 6.2.9) and the Edinburgh Museum, which suggests that he may have simply been happy for his specimens to be exhibited at any prestigious museum known for their scientific commitments.

A number of colonial donors, although never visiting the colonies, did have known connections living or working out in the British colonies, and therefore it is very likely that it was through these sources that colonial material was acquired. For example, Joseph Holt in 1863 donated a large and valuable collection of Australasian natural history material. This included 36 birds; two quadrupeds; a collection of insects and crustacea and a rare species of poisonous snake. Joseph Holt was a resident of Leeds, but if you look more closely at the rest of his family, it is evident that he had a brother, a Mr. James Holt who lived in Australia (unfortunately the reason for his emigration to Australia is not known).[65] Indeed, it was from James that Joseph Holt received the collections which he then passed on to Leeds PLS.

At end of this period, the late 1860s, the Society were a little less satisfied with their progress especially in terms of subscribers. Even though there was still interest in the Society, for example in the 1866-67 annual report it was noted that there were 56 new members and subscribers, the Society were not happy with this number and tried to encourage their current members to canvass for new members:

> These numbers, however, though large when compared with former years are still less than might be expected in a town of the size and wealth of Leeds, and it is believed they might be much increased if thee present Members would undertake an active canvass amongst their friends and neighbours, and so place in the hands of the Society the means of greatly extending its usefulness.[66]

This was a sign of the fortune of the Society in the years to follow.

8. 5 Troubled times (1870-1914): drop in members, visitors and accessions

Continuing from the late 1860s, the 1870s marked the start of a downward trajectory for the Society. This period saw a rapid drop in both the number of visitors and members of the

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[65] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1863-64
[66] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1866-67

Leeds PLS (Figure 8.10), as well as a continued depression in their finances. This was blamed on a general depression in trade which affected Leeds as well as the whole country.[67]

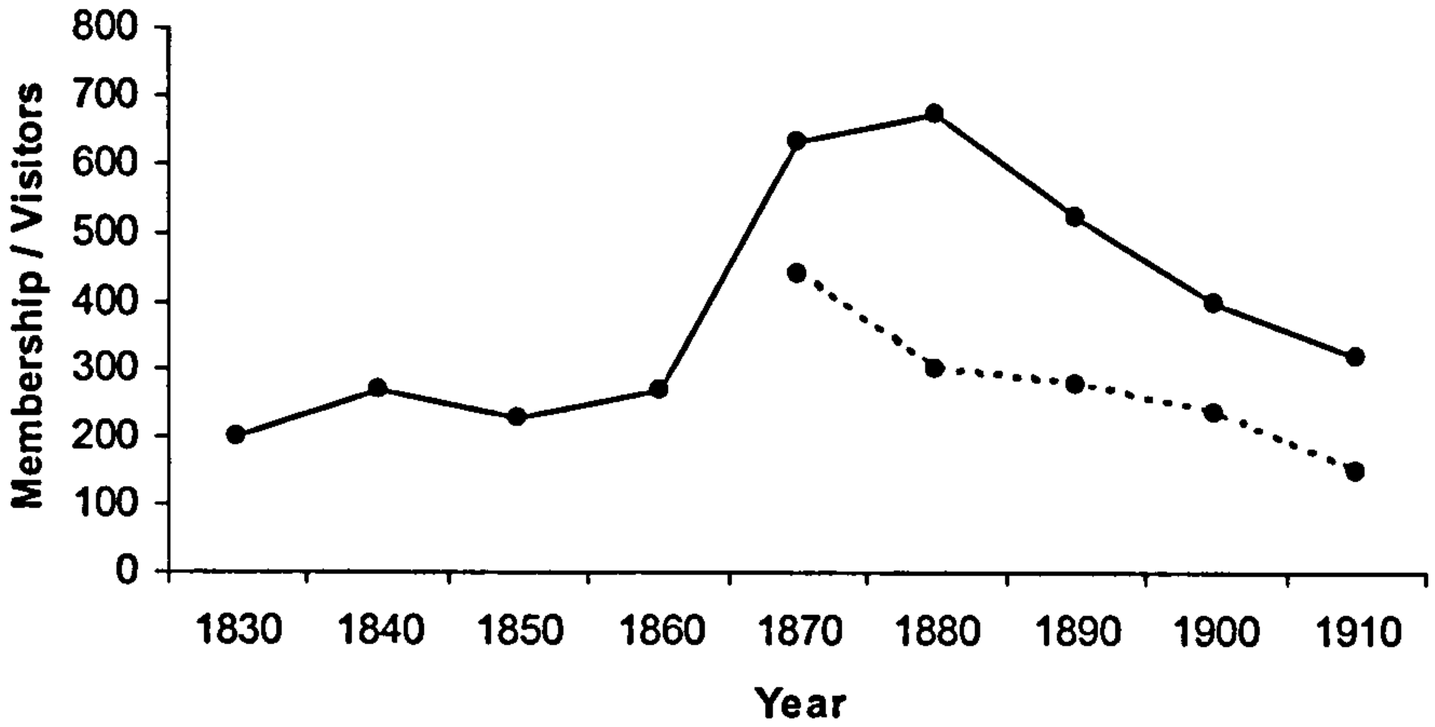

Figure 8.10 Membership (solid line) and visitors (hundreds; dashed line) to the Leeds PLS (adapted from Clark 1924: 234 & 237).

This pattern persisted over the next 20 years and by the turn of the twentieth century the prosperity of the Leeds PLS had not improved. Unlike a number of other English provincial museums, they had not taken advantage of the Museums Act, possibly owing to the fact that up until the 1870s, the Leeds PLS was extremely successful. However, during the final two decades of the nineteenth century, with its declining popularity and prosperity, it was realised that action had to be taken to improve its situation. In the early 1900s a thorough evaluation of the Society took place (by the committee) and it was decided that without being able to expand the building, the Museum could not grow and develop to its full potential. The Society therefore decided to concentrate on their lectures and publications, accepting an offer made for the Museum by the city council (Brears & Davies 1989: 32). Brears & Davies (1989: 32) suggests that the change in ownership which occurred at this point reflected the general changes which occurred in Leeds over the same period. From being a compact town, with few educational resources, and the majority of people living within a short distance of the town centre in the early nineteenth century, Leeds had changed into a vast industrial conurbation. It had formal educational facilities, and people had moved from the centre to the surrounding countryside; their interests changing to other leisure activities (such as shopping) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These changes did not help the Leeds PLS as it meant competition and loss of members.

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[67] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1876-77

Colonial material and general accessions followed the trend of member and visitor numbers, experiencing a rapid drop in the 1870s to a low level which was maintained till the end of the century. During this time, the Museum also experienced a change in management. After the death of Henry Denny in 1871, the position of Curator was occupied by Louis Compton Miall (1842-1921). As already identified, Denny was very influential in terms of the accession of collections over the long period in which he worked at the Museum, networking with numerous people (including those who had the potential to donate foreign specimens) to give the Museum an extensive collection (see section 8.4.2). He could be regarded as a compulsive collector, and was not one to turn down the offer of material for the Museum. This was quite the opposite philosophy to that held by Miall. He was interested in building up a far more systematic and ordered collection. Specimens that did not fit within his system would not be accepted. This could have contributed to the dramatic drop in accessions experienced during this period. Miall's mission for the Museum was very different to that of Denny and when he took over as curator this became very apparent. Miall promoted the use of the Museum as a research centre, and a place for teaching (he was a supporter of Flower's New Museum Idea), which is not surprising, considering he was lecturer at the Yorkshire College of Science (Alberti 2000: 99-133). The collections became dedicated to the researcher and student, to the detriment of the general visitor, which may well have accelerated the drop in visitor numbers (Figure 8.10).

Although Miall was not as inclusive when it came to accessioning material, he still made a number of colonial accessions, 22 over a period of 20 years (two of which were purchases). Like Denny he had networks with people throughout the world, mainly professional biologists, from whom he could obtain specimens for the collections. For example, in 1886 the Leeds PLS received a donation of emu feathers from Prof. A.H. Garrod, a well-known anatomist and zoologist who wrote a number of very valuable and important zoological papers.[68] Another professional naturalist who almost certainly donated to the Society through connections made by Miall was John Brazier (1842-1930). Brazier made a donation of a collection of birds from Australia and adjacent islands in 1880. This is a little surprising considering that Brazier was known as a conchologist. At the time of making this donation, Brazier had just accepted the position of conchologist at the Australian Museum in Sydney (1880-1893), which may well have been the source of this collection of birds. However, he would have had ample opportunity throughout his life to make these collections

[68] Alfred Henry Garrod (1846-1879), zoologist, was a prosector to the Zoological Society of London. This involved the carrying out of zoological research; his special interest was the anatomy of birds. This led to his election as a Professor of comparative anatomy at King's College, London and Fullerian professor of physiology at the Royal Institution. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1876. Garrod was the author of a number of scientific, which were assembled and published in one volume after his death (Bettany 2004c).

as he took part in a number of expeditions, for example, the cruise of HMS *Curacoa* to Norfolk Island, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, the New Hebrides, the Solomons and New Caledonia; the *Eclipse* expedition to the Great Barrier Reef in 1871; HMS *Blanche* to the Solomon Islands, New Guinea and the Marshall Islands in 1872; and Noumea and New Caledonia in 1873. Two of these voyages, the HMS *Curacoa* in 1865 and HMS *Blanche* in 1872 were among those which cruised the Pacific, monitoring British interests in the islands, but as a by-product of this cause, scientific investigation was encouraged. Brazier was also employed as a collector for Sir William Macleay[69] on a dredging cruise along the coast of New South Wales in the *Pea Hen* in 1874, and was a member of Macleay's expedition in the *Chevert* to New Guinea via the Great Barrier Reef in 1875. The *Chevert* expedition to New Guinea was the first Australian scientific mission to a foreign country, funded and organised by William Macleay in 1875. The expedition aimed to collect and document the natural environment of New Guinea (Macmillan 1957). During these voyages Brazier did not only collect natural history material, but artefacts as well. Many of these artefacts are now held in the Macleay Museum (Anon 2005). Clearly Brazier was an accomplished collector and would have had ample opportunity on the many voyages he made, both as part of the governmental colonial regime and the privately funded scientific voyages in the surrounding Australian seas, to make collections of birds. As a scientist in Sydney at this time he would have been part of the closely-knit scientific circle which existed, which included Macleay and his other collectors, so these specimens could have also come from any of these sources (Barker 2004).

Like Denny, Miall also took advantage of the fatalities of menageries, acquiring an emu and opossum from Wombwell's menagerie in 1888. Unlike the period when Denny was curator, there seems to be less high-positioned Society members contributing to the colonial collections at this time. This may be related to the drop in members (see section 8.7). Following Miall's retirement in 1891, curatorship was taken for two years by Edgar Waite, followed by Henry Crowther (1848-1937) (Brears 1989: 13-17). Crowther had very different views to Miall and tried to make the Museum more accessible to school children. He also made many more colonial accessions, during a period of 11 years, 36 colonial acquisitions were accepted. This period sees an interesting mix of donors, again, those who directly travelled to the colonies, and those who acquired colonial material indirectly. Henry Bendelack Hewetson (1850-1899), was one of these travellers, making a donation of a wing of an African bird (*Cosmetornis vexillarius*) in 1897 (his full collection was donated to the

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[69] Sir William John Macleay (1820-1891) was a naturalist and politician. He was nephew of Alexander Macleay, and on his advice left England for Australia. Macleay was a member of parliament, chairing a number of committees. With the encouragement of his uncle and cousins, he acquired an interest in natural history and became an important benefactor of the subject, financially supporting a number of scientific expeditions. He was widely published on the zoology of Australia and became the first president of the Entomological Society of New South Wales. On his death, his collection was left to the University of Sydney (Brodie 2004).

Museum at a later date). He travelled quite widely, including Switzerland, the Libyan Desert, Pompeii, the Mediterranean, Egypt, France and Morroco. He was known as an explorer, making valuable collections of birds and insects on the coast of North Africa, but was best known for having first recorded the visits of birds to English shores, and as a student of bird-migration. He was President of the Leeds Naturalist Club and Scientific Association (1885), as well as a fellow of the Linnean and Zoological Society. He was a local, working as an opthalamic surgeon in Leeds (Anon 1900: 72-73). Another traveller who donated specimens to the Society was Rev. Herbert Johnson. He donated two spiders, one of these being from Natal, to the Museum in 1905. Johnson was actually a minister in Natal, so he probably collected while he was preaching there.

As well as these more obvious colonial donors in the form of travelling naturalists and missionaries, material was acquired by more unlikely characters, for example Sir William Edward Garforth J.P. (1845-1921) (Figure 8.11). On the surface he may have no obvious links with the colonies, but when examined in more depth such connections can be made. Garforth made a large and valuable donation in 1906 of moths, butterflies, beetles, and other insects from Abosso, West Africa. No evidence has been found to confirm that Garforth travelled to West Africa to make this collection. Abosso is in present-day Ghana on the West Coast of Africa. From the second half of the nineteenth century this area of Africa was named the Gold Coast, and saw the migration of thousands of people owing to the lure of the gold mines which were present in this area (e.g. Dumett 1998). It is through the mining industry that Garforth's connection with Ghana lies. Garforth was a very well-known name in the mining industry. As well as managing Pope & Pearsons Colliery at Altofts, Yorkshire, he was awarded a knighthood owing to his achievements in the promotion of safety in the coal-mining industry, experimentally showing that the use of stone dust could prevent coal dust explosions in coal mines (Anon 1921: 7; Riley 2005). It is within the mining industry that a possible connection with Ghana, or more specifically Abosso, can be found and it would not be surprising if Garforth had friends or relations there who may have sent him the collection. Alternatively, he could have been directly involved in one of the mining companies located in Abosso, as a shareholder or a technical advisor. This may have given him the opportunity to travel there and collect for himself, or again, put him in direct contact with people living there who may have made this collection of insects and passed it on to him. No direct evidence has been found to prove this.

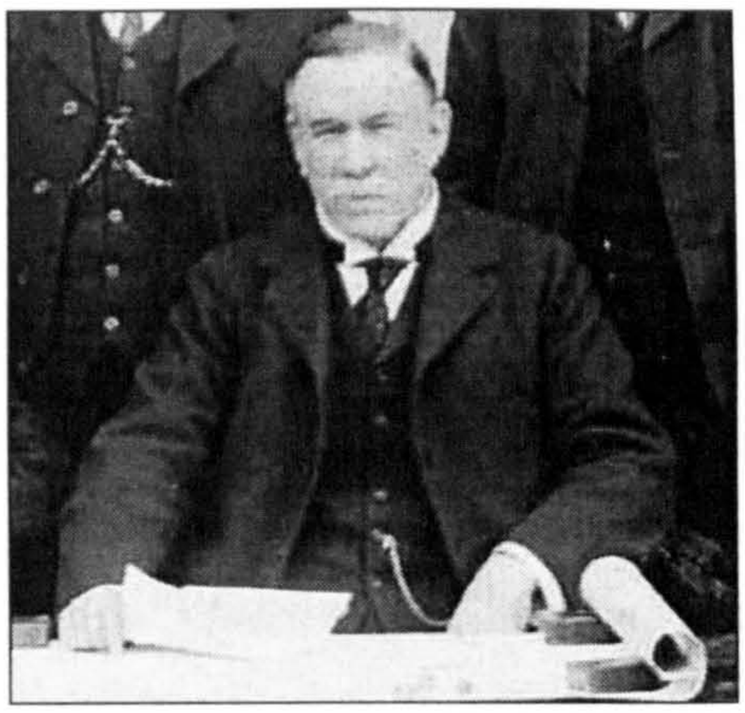

Figure 8.11 William Edward Garforth J.P. (1845-1921) (reproduced with the kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

In conclusion, this period (1870-1914) was one of great change for the Society. After a number of very successful years, the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century were not as prosperous and resulted in the Society having to forfeit their Museum. The drop in visitors, members and acquisitions accompanied by a change in curatorship made this a very unsettled period for the Society. However, the Society did continue to receive colonial material. The material was received via contacts of the curator, and locals who had travelled and collected material whilst in the British colonies. Unlike previous years, high-positioned Society members did not feature in the list of donors (see sections 8.3.2 and 8.4.2).

8.6 The attraction of colonial material

This chapter has revealed the flow of colonial material to the Society, but as yet there has been no discussion as to why people donated colonial material and why the Leeds PLS were interested in its accession. The Society justified accessioning foreign material owing to its scientific value. The Museum aimed to have complete sets of specimens which would fully illustrate and represent the animal kingdom. Specimens were often appreciated as they would fill gaps which were present in the collections:

> The two last-mentioned animals, in conjunction with the above Donations from the Mayor and Mr. Aldam, furnish a good illustration of the principal groups in the order Marsupialia and the entire order Monotremata, while the contributions from Mr. William Gott, Mr. Brown, Mr. Beckett, Viscount Goderich, Mr. Leather, and Mr. Beecroft, supply examples of *nearly* all genra in the order Bruta, which have long been desiderata in the Museum. The fine skull and and horns of the Arnee, presented by Viscount Goderich, the magnificent Horns of the Wapiti Deer, from Robert Barr,

> Esq., the Skull of the South African Wild Boar, from W.T. Watson, Esq. and the Horn of the Ibex, from P.O. Callaghan, Esq., are also important acquisitions to other orders of the class Mammalia.[70]

From another scientific perspective, the Society were interested in studying the past especially creatures which were extinct or close to extinction.[71] This was not only in the case of animals, but also human cultures, especially colonial societies, as they were often seen as the closest link to the extinct past. Ethnographic collections were readily accepted for this purpose:

> From Mr Cullingworth has been received an interesting series of Articles of Dress, Implements of War, &c. from New Zealand, collected himself in that Colony in 1843-4. The value of such relics, in an historical point of view, and their fitness for deposit in a Museum, is becoming daily more evident, - illustrating, as they do, the manners and customs of a people who are fast disappearing before the advances of civilisation, and whose moral and social condition have undergone so great a change during the last fifty years, that their *Native* weapons have, to a considerable extent, been laid aside, as well as their manufactures discontinued for those of *European* construction: hence, when a few generations shall be passed away, *they*, and their various articles of savage life, will become the subjects of *tradition;* the land which gave them birth will know them no longer; and, unlike the inhabitants of Ancient Egypt, Mexico, or Hindostan, whose paintings and sculptures have handed down their deeds to posterity, these will leave no memorial of their existence, save such trophies as may have found lodgement in the Museums of Public Institutions; and they will then become the only oracles, to guide the pen of future historians, when describing the once warlike or domestic habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of our Colonial possessions. Viewing, therefore, such native productions in an Ethnological point of view, the Council would be glad to see the Museum become the depository of similar articles from distant lands.[72]

Although this evidence confirms that the Leeds PLS were collecting colonial material to help achieve its aim of establishing itself as a scientific institution, this may not have been the only benefit associated with the acquisition of this type of material. An interesting comment concerning this matter appeared in the *Leeds Monthly* magazine in 1829:

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[70] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1857-58
[71] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1859-60
[72] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47

> we will not meddle so far as to praise its Museum, because we believe it to have been formed far more from motives of vanity than from a real love of science. (Clark 1924:18)

This accusation could be interpreted in a number of ways, both in terms of the benefits gained by the Society as a whole, and the individual donors. The Museum environment gave the perfect opportunity for people to exhibit their 'vanity'. When objects were displayed in the Museum, they were accompanied by a label which informed the viewer what the object/specimen was, the location from which it was collected and the name of the donor.[73] Therefore, by donating material to the Leeds PLS, the name of the donor was on show to everyone who visited the Museum and chose to view the object/specimen. The more impressive your donation was (for example if it was rare), the greater the attention it would receive and the more likely the donors name would be read and acknowledged. Donating colonial or foreign specimens would almost guarantee that this would be the case. They would attract attention owing to their rarity and novelty value (for example the Bengal tiger; see section 8.4.2) and in some cases their scientific value. Some specimens of gigantic megafauna, for example, giraffes, could not be missed. This was often the type of material donated by high-positioned Society members, MPs and Mayors. Not everyone would be able to donate this type of material, as it would be much more difficult to acquire than local specimens. It would either require the donor to have travelled, or to have connections with those who could supply this material, or have the money to purchase it, for example, from natural history dealers. Those who donated colonial material, such as Fairbairn (see section 8.4.2) who donated a giraffe and Salt (see section 8.3.1) who donated a mummy received many terms of admiration and flattery in the Leeds PLS annual report. These points highlight the way in which vanity could have played a part in the donation of colonial material, donors receiving praise and attention, possibly using these donations as a way to confirm or raise their status both within the Leeds PLS and the town of Leeds (for a more detailed discussion on the advantages of making colonial donation see section 9.3.2). It could be hypothesised that this led to competition between members of the Leeds PLS of who could donate the rarest or most valuable specimen. The competition may have been enhanced by the fact that the people who donated colonial material all knew each other quite well, not only through the Society (as members), but through work (many sharing occupations such as surgeons or MPs) and also through family connections (for example a number of the Hey family donated colonial material).

It cannot be denied however that these donors, the majority of whom put a large amount of time, money and effort into the Society wanted it to succeed, linking in with one of

[73] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1840-41

the reasons for its formation, civic pride, and so it is unlikely that it was only selfish motives that led to the donation of colonial material. Obviously they were concerned with the Society's well-being and development, wanting the Leeds PLS to be as successful, or more successful than any other philosophical societies in the country. One way in which this could be achieved was by donating exotic and rare specimens. There may have also been an expectation for them to donate this material, especially as in the early years of the Society's history a specific request for this type of material was made. There is evidence that when appeals were made by the Society for specific types of collections or money to purchase specimens, it was the high-positioned Society members who responded. By responding to the appeal they were exhibiting their dedication to the Society as well as setting an example to the other Society members. The Society often praised members who stepped in and bought specimens on their behalf.[74]

The vanity motive assigned to the donors can be translated onto the Society as a whole. Those involved in the Society wanted it to be successful and through the accession of colonial material this could be achieved in two ways: 1) in terms of science, by preserving rare specimens and making systematic collections which could be used by scientist and students of science, and 2) by increasing the popularity of the Museum. As previously mentioned the colonial material displayed in the Museum allowed visitors to gain an idea of the environment within which the Other lived. This was quite novel for the visitor, the Museum giving them a unique opportunity to see some of these extraordinary creatures, the Society often making the most of this by displaying colonial material in prominent positions (Figure 8.12; for further discussion on the display of the Other see section 9.4.2). Often the collecting carried out by the museum was driven by the demands of the public (Norris 1985c: 127), so if the public enjoyed observing foreign specimens in the Museum, the Society would make an effort to acquire more. Through the rare specimens acquired and the visitors they would attract, the Museum would boost its status and reputation both within the town of Leeds and within other towns in the country, and in this way promote civic pride.

[74] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1847-48

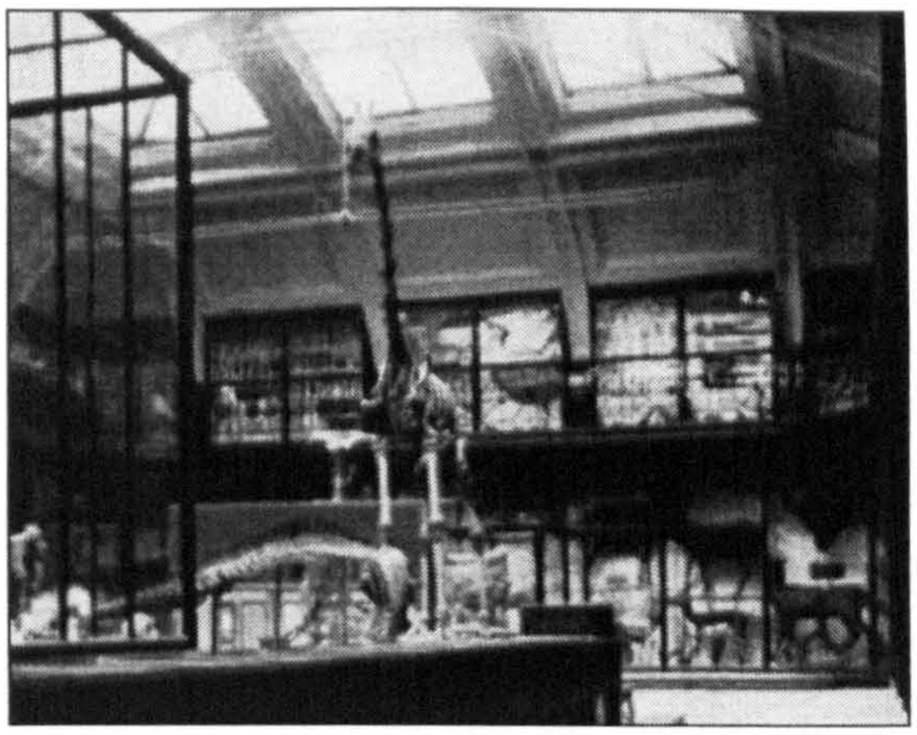

Figure 8.12 Zoological Room looking north. Giraffe skeleton displayed in a prominent position in the centre of the room (reproduced with the kind permission of Leeds City Museums).

8.7 Conclusions

From its establishment in the early nineteenth century, the Leeds PLS had a desire to incorporate colonial material within their Museum. The reasons for this desire could be attributed to a number of factors; the scientific value of these specimens, their ability to attract visitors and raise the status of the Society (for further discussion on the role played by colonial acquisition in the provincial museum see section 9.2). Their demands for this material were openly declared when an appeal was made to members encouraging them to acquire and donate foreign material. Although no other specific request for this material was made, there was an appeal to gentlemen and noblemen to donate money for Museum desiderata in the 1840s, which was followed by a small peak in the amount of colonial material donated to the Society. This could lead us to believe that foreign specimens were on the list of items desired by the Society. Additional evidence of the Society's interest in colonial material throughout the nineteenth century was exhibited in numerous ways; through the display of colonial specimens within the Museum, the acceptance of colonial material from the formation of the Museum up until the collections were handed over to the city council, as well as its inclusion within other divisions of the Society, for example, the annual conversazione and the lecture series. Although this interest was shown throughout the century, colonial acquisitions were not acquired at a steady rate. A distinct pattern in the flow of this material has been identified, and separated into three major phases; a low and steady flow of colonial acquisitions at the beginning and end of the nineteenth century, a dramatic peak in the mid-century, followed by a gradual decrease at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (Figure 8.1).

This trend closely followed that of all natural history and ethnographic acquisitions made by the Leeds PLS, suggesting that factors affecting the flow of any acquisitions whether it was natural history or ethnography, of local or colonial origin, had overall control over the

flow of colonial acquisitions. In the case of the Leeds PLS, developmental patterns of the Society could be separated into three phases which cover the same time periods as those previously identified for the flow of colonial acquisitions. This supports the fact that developmental phases affected colonial acquisition flow (for further discussion on the effect of developmental phases on colonial acquisition flow see section 9.1.1). For example, during the first phase when the number of colonial acquisitions were low and the flow steady, the Society although only just established, was experiencing difficulties in terms of finance and space. Whilst financial problems were an issue, money could not be spent purchasing collections and the Society would be concentrating on clearing their debt rather than encouraging acquisitions to be made. During the second phase, colonial acquisitions were high, and at the same time, the Society's fortunes were improving. Interest in the Society in terms of members was increasing, the debt causing financial problems was paid off and the space within which objects were displayed was increased through a major extension. This was a prosperous phase in which the acceptance of acquisitions was encouraged. The final phase saw a decline in colonial acquisitions and was coupled with uncertain times for the Society in terms of its future, especially in the case of its collections. Coupled with this, members of the Society and visitors to the Museum were decreasing and so it is not surprising if the acquisition of colonial material during this period was not high on their agenda.

One of the key players in the Society's development, especially in terms of the Museum, were the curators. In the case of Leeds PLS the different styles, interests and aspirations of the two main curators of the era, Henry Denny and Louis Compton Miall, fit in well with the flow of acquisitions, and no doubt influenced the flow of this material into the Leeds PLS. Denny's reign as curator was coupled with the peak in colonial acquisitions. He was known for his love of collecting and this was echoed in his acceptance of a wide variety of material for the Museum. Miall, who took over Denny's position, was quite the opposite being very specific about the material he acquired. He only accepted material which fitted within the systematic series which were already well established in the Museum. It may therefore be more than a coincidence that this period saw the number of acquisitions made by the Leeds PLS decrease (for further discussion on the influence of curators on acquisition flow see section 9.1.2).

The conclusions drawn up to this point, do not demonstrate the complexity of the composition of donors who were making colonial donations, or take into account how they affected colonial acquisition flow. Each phase illustrated distinct patterns in the way within which colonial material was acquired. In the first phase a number of colonial acquisitions were purchased, and the majority of the remaining acquisitions were donated by high-positioned Society members who played integral roles within the Society and the community of Leeds. These people were the decision-makers of the Leeds PLS, so the fact that they

donated colonial material was another sign that this material featured within the Society's desiderata. During the first phase, as well as depending of these people to run the Society, they were also dependent on them as a source of colonial material. This was despite the fact that no evidence was found that any of these donors had first-hand experience of the colonies or any obvious close connections with them. It seems that during this period, the Society was not expecting to receive collections directly from these foreign lands. In the appeal made for foreign specimens in 1822, the Society specifically asked members to use their commercial connections abroad to obtain this material, rather than directly appealing to those who went abroad themselves. This may not be surprising when looking at the occupations of Society members, a number of whom were surgeons and bankers (i.e. people who settled in a place with no need to travel). In terms of British colonialism and accessibility to the colonies, much more progress was made as the century advanced and so connections to the colonies may have been low at this point in comparison of times to come.

As these donors did not collect colonial material themselves, they probably would have had to make a concerted effort to obtain it. Their desire to donate colonial material could possibly be philanthropic, by donating they believed they were making worthwhile contributions to the Society. On the hand, there could have been an aspect of selfishness, using these donations as a mechanism to demonstrate their wealth or status (for further discussion on the advantages of donating colonial material to provincial museums see section 9.3.2).

The typical colonial donors described in the first phase continued to donate during the second phase, but there was also evidence of the addition of donors who were not from the town of Leeds, their connections with the Society not always clear. It is possible that these people were contacted by the curator at the time, Henry Denny. Whereas in the first period the Society was expecting to receive material indirectly, which it did, during this second period there was a move away from this trend, the Society also receiving colonial material from those who had a direct experience of the British colonies. This may be illustrative of the progress of British colonialism which was advancing throughout the century. The inclusion of donors who had no known connection with Leeds or the Leeds PLS could be attributed to an effort made by Society members to contact people who had direct access to the colonies and colonial material. This could have been in order to increase the amount of foreign collections in the Museum, or as a response owing to the composition of colonial acquisitions already received; having a desire to fill gaps in the collection which were present. Previously the composition of donations was single specimens, probably owing to the fact that they were purchased (the Society not being able to afford whole collections) and because of the type of donor who donated them (i.e. those who had not collected the specimens themselves; those who did collect their donations, for example, Atkinson and Sykes tended to make donations

of complete collections). During this period the Society made it clear that they wanted to illustrate every species of the animal kingdom, and may have been eager to receive more complete collections. This mission could more realistically be fulfilled by contacting people who were residing or travelling in the colonies, especially those who were known collectors.

In the final period, colonial material continued to be acquired from a variety of donors, those who travelled to the colonies in the form of naturalists and ministers (many of whom had local connections), as well as through an indirect manner. These donors, the majority of whom had not travelled to the colonies, tended to make donations consisting of single specimens (for further discussion concerning donors of colonial material see section 9.3.1). This coincided with the period in which Miall, whose aim was to have systematic groups of collections, was curator of the Leeds PLS Museum. Receiving random single items would not have helped Miall fulfil his aim of making complete collections. So he may have discouraged members from making random donations. Miall's influence almost certainly contributed to the drop in colonial acquisitions during this period. Colonial donations made by high-positioned Society members had almost completely ceased. This could be correlated with the changing demographics of the time, wealthy families (from which these high-positioned Society members came) moving from the town to country, which contributed to a falling interest in the Leeds PLS which was located in the town. As they had less contact with the Society, they were less likely to donate material to the Society.

To conclude, this chapter has revealed that the Leeds PLS had the ability to attract colonial material both indirectly (high-positioned Society members were particularly important in this respect) and from those who travelled to the colonies and collected there themselves. This was despite the landlocked position which Leeds occupied (i.e. it did not have direct connections with the colonies via a port; for further discussion on the advantages experienced by museum located on port in terms of colonial acquisitions see section 9.1.3). It seems that a complex combination of factors may have influenced the flow of colonial material, from the overall development of the Society, to the individual aims of the curator and the motives of the donors themselves. It was difficult to attribute specific colonial events to the flow of colonial material, although at the end of the century when colonial activity was concentrated in Africa, African accessions were greater than both Indian and Australian. However, it should also be noted that the number of African acquisitions was not at its greatest at this point; this occurred in the 1860s (for further discussion on the effects of colonial activity on the flow of colonial acquisitions see section 9.1.4). Another interesting point to note is that the rise in colonial acquisitions which occurred in the mid-century coincides with the Great Exhibition, which included the exhibition of material associated with the colonies. Although no direct evidence was found to suggest that this was the case, the Great Exhibition may have influenced the Leeds PLS to acquire more colonial collections.

9 Discussion

The previous chapters (4-8) have given chronological accounts of the development of individual English provincial museums, focussing on the acquisition of colonial material. In contrast, this chapter is thematic, gathering together findings from earlier chapters. It first discusses the flow of colonial acquisitions experienced by provincial museums, noting both temporal and spatial differences and possible explanations for them (see section 9.1). It goes on to look at the roles played by colonial material within provincial museums, focussing on education, entertainment and civic pride (see section 9.2). The donor of colonial material is then considered; who, for instance, was donating this material and was it in any way beneficial to the individual to make this type of donation (see section 9.3)? The modes of collection of this material are also discussed. The emphasis then turns to the display of this material in the museum, looking at how it reflected the attitudes of the British people towards their colonies (see section 9.4). Finally, the discussion looks forward from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first, discussing the legacy which the acquisition of this material has left for museums today (see section 9.5).

9.1 Colonial acquisition flow

9.1.1 The individuality of provincial museums

Between 1823 and 1914, Saffron Walden Natural History Society (Saffron Walden NHS), Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society (Whitby LPS), the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle NHS), Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Leeds PLS) and Liverpool Museum acquired considerable quantities of natural history and ethnographic material from the British colonies of India, Australia and Africa, which were displayed within their respective museums. However, there was a great deal of variation both in the amount of colonial material received (Figure 9.1) and the flow of colonial material experienced by each museum (Figure 9.2; also see Figures 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.2, 8.1).[1]

[1] Note that there are a number of possible limitations to the method of data collection employed, which may have contributed to the variation in the flow of material between museums. In particular, the accuracy of data is reliant on curators recording all material that was acquired by their museum and that no donation was missed through this process (for further discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this method of data collection see section 2.4.3).

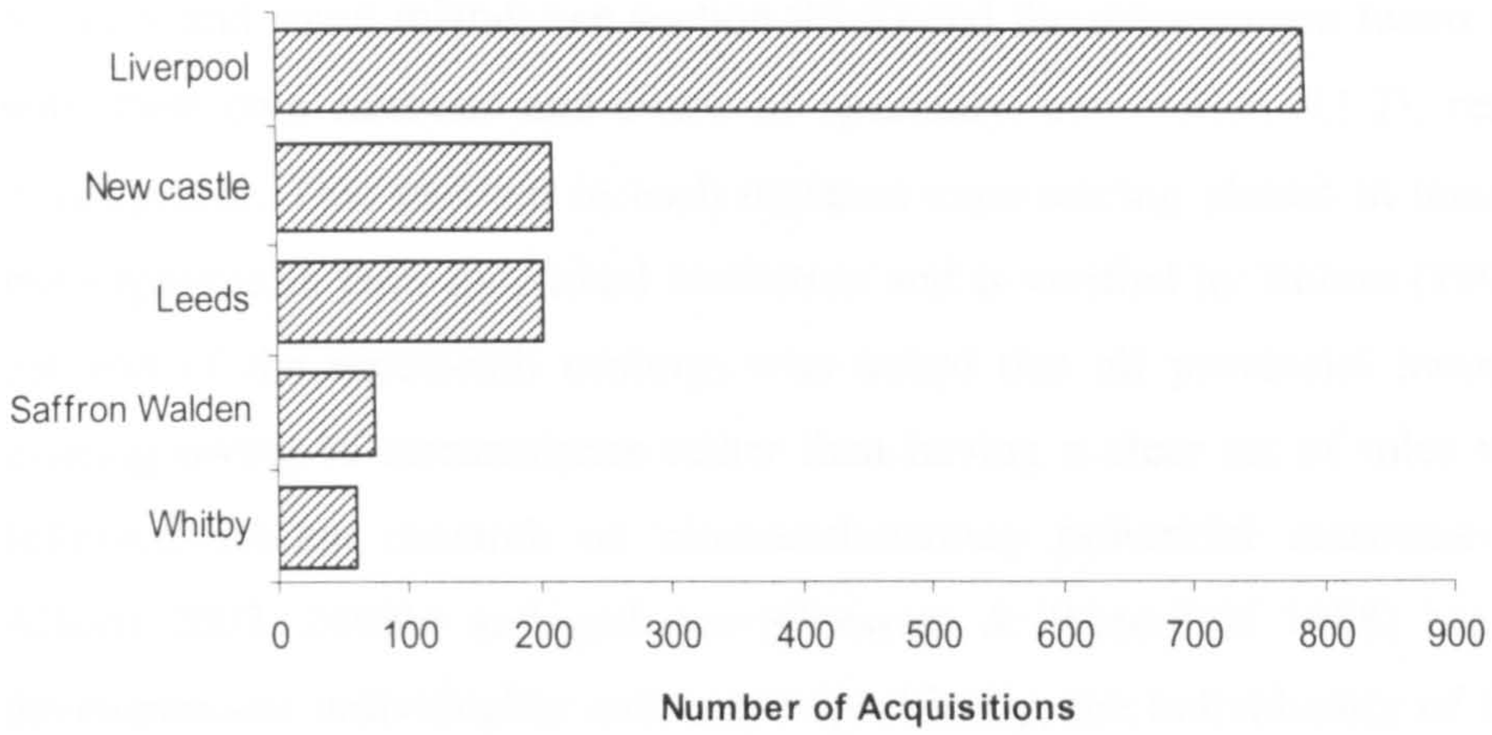

Figure 9.1 Cumulative African, Australian and Indian acquisitions (ethnographic and natural history) received by provincial museums between 1823 and 1914.

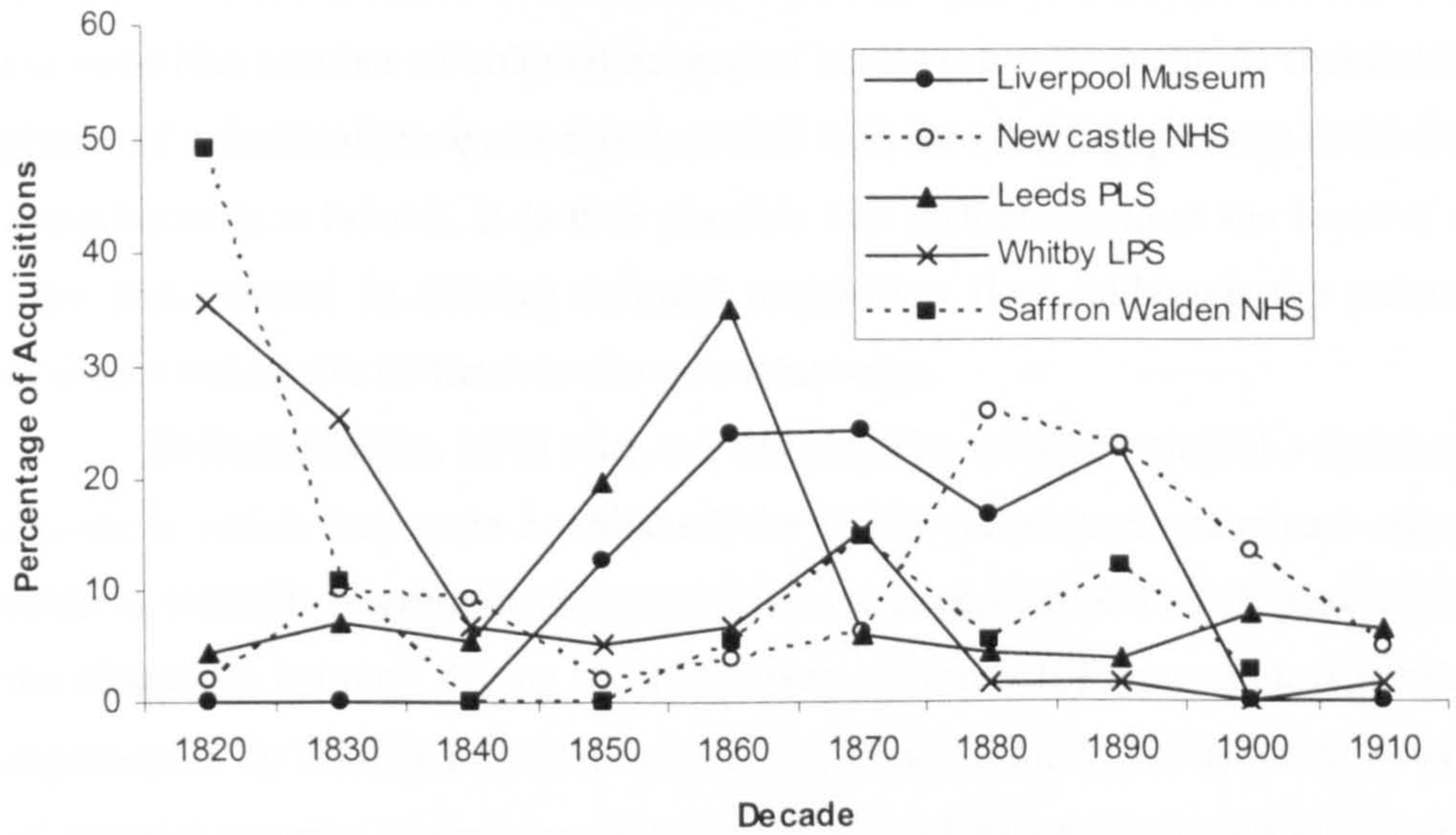

Figure 9.2 Flow of colonial acquisitions (African, Australian and Indian) to individual museums from 1823 to 1914 (for the gross overall pattern see Figure 3.3).

An examination of these societies and museums has revealed that from their establishment each exhibited distinct developmental phases (or lifecycles) which individually evolved rather than following a common plan, giving each a singular identity. The museums examined were established under diverse circumstances; for example the Newcastle NHS was an off-shoot of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (see section 7.1.1), whereas the Liverpool Museum was a rate-supported, free public museum (see section 6.1.1). They were influenced by factors which were specific to them, owing to their diverse geographical

locations (individual towns varied in size and were home to different industries, some located on ports and some inland; see section 9.1.3) and the management teams and curators (each with their own interests and fields of speciality; see section 9.1.2), responsible for their development. This resulted in each museum experiencing phases in their development that were specific to their individual institution and is verified by Bolton (1897: 507), writing at the end of the nineteenth century, who stated that all provincial museums are different, existing owing to circumstance rather than having a clear set of rules which all museums followed. Recent research on nineteenth-century provincial museums (Hill 2000, 2005; Alberti 2002, 2003b) and galleries (Chessum & Waterfield 1998) has also exposed this developmental individuality and, more specifically, the individuality of the collections they assembled (see section 1.1). Knell (2000: 50), for example, states that philosophical societies were 'determined entirely by local context, and in particular by the individuals who peopled them'. Similarly, in the case of the Horniman Museum in London, this individuality in terms of the interest and intellectual background of curators and directors has been used to explain the growth and character of collections over time (Shelton 2001c: 220). Using quantitative evidence (the number of colonial accession made) it has been shown that the developmental phases of individual museums correlate well with the changing patterns in the flow of colonial acquisitions (see below). It is thus possible that factors acting at the level of each museum were instrumental in driving colonial acquisition flow, although the nature of the data available makes this difficult to show conclusively.

Saffron Walden NHS received the majority of their colonial acquisitions during the decade in which they were established, the 1830s. Subsequent years saw only low levels of colonial material entering the Museum, with the exception of a small peak at the latter end of the nineteenth century, during the 1880s (see section 4.2; Figure 4.1). A similar pattern was experienced by Whitby LPS (see section 5.2; Figure 5.1), which acquired its greatest amount of colonial material during the first two decades of its establishment (1820 and 1830). This was followed by a rapid decrease, the remainder of the century receiving a very low yet steady flow of colonial acquisitions with the exception of a small peak which occurred at the end of the century (in the 1880s). On the surface, as both Saffron Walden NHS and Whitby LPS experienced similar trends with regards to the flow of colonial material, it could be presumed that there was a common factor influencing the movement of this material from the British colonies to these two museums, and hence possibly to other English provincial museums. Chapter 3 revealed that political events at the level of Empire were reflected in the flow of colonial acquisitions to the British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History) (see section 3.3), and therefore it might be expected that the flow of colonial material to provincial museums would be subject to similar forces. However, when examining the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of this material by each museum it is clear that the

situation was not that simple; overall (and individual) trends of colonial acquisition flow shown by provincial museums do not track those of the British Museum (see section 9.2.4). Each museum exhibits a unique trend.

The pattern of colonial acquisitions experienced by Saffron Walden NHS followed three developmental phases, which were influenced by the changing prosperity of the Society. At its establishment, when colonial acquisitions were at their peak, the Society was particularly active and popular and was receiving much interest in terms of membership and acquisitions (see section 4.2.1). The mid-century saw the Society face a number of problems; financial difficulties and lack of display space within the Museum were accompanied by a drop in the number of colonial acquisitions received (see section 4.2.2). When the fortunes of the Society changed (during the 1880s), largely owing to the financial assistance offered by a local benefactor, the number of colonial acquisitions rose again (see section 4.2.3). A similar situation occurred at Whitby LPS. During the early years when colonial donations were at their peak, the Society was doing very well in terms of the number of visitors, members and acquisitions (see section 5.2.1). Following this trouble-free era, they encountered a number of problems (reminiscent of Saffron Walden NHS); the two major dilemmas which they faced were a lack of space for the display of collections and financial difficulties. This was accompanied by a rapid drop in the number of colonial accessions (see section 5.2.2). At the end of the century the Society experienced a second period of prosperity with the addition of two extensions to the Society building alongside a corresponding rise in the number of colonial acquisitions (see section 5.2.3). Furthermore, the idea that the flow of colonial material was controlled by events happening at the level of the museum is supported by the finding that Whitby LPS's total acquisition flow closely mirrored the flow of colonial acquisitions (see section 5.4; Figure 5.10).

The acquisition of colonial material by Leeds PLS, Newcastle NHS and Liverpool Museum was very different to that experienced by Whitby LPS and Saffron Walden NHS, each displaying their own unique trends. Unlike Whitby LPS and Saffron Walden NHS, Leeds PLS did not experience a peak in colonial acquisitions on its establishment. The Society received a constant basal level of colonial acquisitions throughout the nineteenth century, with the exception of a peak in the 1850s and 1860s (see section 8.2; Figure 8.1). Again this trend followed the developmental phases experienced by the Society. Almost immediately after its establishment the Society ran into financial difficulties and was in need of extra space to display their collections (see section 8.3.1) and it was not until the mid-century that the Society began to prosper (see section 8.4.1). The Society paid off their debt, their accommodation was extended and the number of members increased; as did the number of colonial acquisitions. The end of the century was a period of uncertainty for the Society as the future of its Museum was in doubt. Visitor figures, membership numbers and colonial

acquisitions all decreased (see section 8.5). Akin to Whitby LPS, the influence of colonial acquisition flow is supported by the finding that total *colonial* acquisitions follow a similar temporal trend to total (natural history and ethnographic) acquisitions (see section 8.3.1; Figure 8.4).

The flow of colonial acquisitions experienced by Newcastle NHS was the inverse of that of Whitby LPS and Saffron Walden NHS. Following the establishment of the Newcastle NHS (1829) there was a small peak in colonial acquisitions spanning two decades (1830s and 1840s). This was followed by a drop in colonial accessions, before a major peak occurred at the end of the century (during the 1880s and 1890s) (see section 7.2; Figure 7.2). Again, it seems that events at the level of the Society can be used to explain the changes in the flow of this material. The low flow of colonial material experienced in the mid-century coincides with a particular stagnant period in the Society's history. The formation of another local society concerned with natural history, the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club, may have taken interest away from the Newcastle NHS and contributed to the drop in acquisition rate (see section 7.4). The peak in colonial material occurred at a time of great activity and excitement for the Society, including one of the biggest events in its history; the relocation and the construction of a new building within which they would house their Museum (see section 7.5).

Liverpool Museum was the only museum that exhibited a relatively steady flow of colonial material throughout the period examined (see section 6.2; Figure 6.1.5). Even when finances were relatively low, preventing the purchase of material, there was no corresponding drop in the amount of colonial material acquired (see section 6.1.5). A number of possible factors could have interacted to permit this steady flow of colonial material. First, Liverpool Museum was distinct to the other museums in this study as it was not a society museum, but was controlled and financed by the Corporation of Liverpool. Whereas the literary and philosophical and natural history societies all had clear phases in their development, such as periods of depression which normally coincided with financial instability, the minutes and annual reports of the Liverpool Museum revealed a comparatively stable financial situation. Societies were well-known for their relative instability in comparison to municipal museums (Morris 1983: 117). Liverpool was a rate-supported museum and therefore unlike the society museums which had to rely on subscriptions and acts of philanthropy to survive, it had a relatively reliable source of funding (it should be noted however, that philanthropic acts played a vital role in the evolution of the Liverpool Museum; see chapter 6).

Society museums often experienced problems as original subscribers died and their places failed to be filled by new subscribers (for example at Whitby LPS and Leeds PLS; see sections 5.2.2 and 8.4.2). This resulted in less financial aid for the society, as well as the loss of participants in activities such as lectures. Another possible disadvantage that society museums faced was their dependence on a small number of individuals as figureheads and in

managerial roles. If these individuals ceased to be involved the society would immediately feel the effect, to its detriment.[2] Writing at the end of the nineteenth century, Greenwood (1888: 106-107) suggests that the day of the subscription museum was over owing to lack of support and recommended that they should adopt the Museums Act and transfer to rate-supported museums.[3] Although a number of society museums did take this advice (Leeds PLS, for example, transferred their collection to the city council) some literary and philosophical societies and their museums are still in existence today, including Whitby LPS. So while the steady flow of colonial material to Liverpool Museum compared with the unstable flow witnessed at the other museums may be explained by its status as a rate-supported museum, the only way to prove this would be to compare it to other rate-supported museums. Other factors, such as increased access to colonial material, via the port of Liverpool may have also played a part (see section 9.1.3).

My data demonstrates that museums have individual life-cycles, often involving interspersed periods of success and difficulty, and suggests that in general there were interrelationships between lifecycles in terms of financial stability, growth of societies (in terms of membership and visitor numbers, and extended accommodation, for example), activity levels (such as lectures and rearranging collections) and acquisition rate (both colonial and general). For instance, during times of financial stability rates of acquisitions tended to be higher; but this also coincided with increased levels of activity, leading to the successful expansion and growth of the museum (and society in general). It is thus difficult to disentangle the relative effects of each of these factors, and it is likely that they all played important roles in acquisition activity; albeit differently for each museum. Because of these links between acquisition rate, activity, finances and success, it is possible that acquisition rate may act as an indicator of the lifecycles or developmental phases of museums.

As each museum exhibits unique trends in acquisition rate, it suggests that external factors, both in Britain and abroad, were largely irrelevant in dictating the observed trends and patterns (see section 9.1.4). Social factors acting at a local level, however, such as low activity levels brought about by disease epidemics, could have had a major impact on the society/museum and therefore acquisition rate. In fact, during periods of difficulty, circumstances specific to the local area were often used to explain the situation; for instance, during the 1870s when the membership numbers of the Newcastle NHS were dropping, this was attributed to a general commercial depression in the area (see section 7.4).[4]

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[2] It should be noted however, that this was not only the case for Society museums. Sheets-Pyenson (1988: 98) points out that a number of museums located in the colonies themselves, which were often controlled by single individuals, heavily felt their loss on their departure.
[3] It should be noted however that Thomas Greenwood was an apologist for municipal museums.
[4] Annual Report of the Newcastle NHS 1876

9.1.2 The curator

The character and interests of the curator were very influential in the development of museums (particularly in the acquisitions received) (Sheets-Pyenson 1988: 26; Shelton 2001c: 220), and especially provincial museums in which there was usually only one curator (although societies often also had honorary curators who were experts in their field). Shelton (2001c: 220), for example, explains the growth and character of the collections at the Horniman Museum as a result of:

> specific changing narratives that different collectors, curators and directors have tried to express at different points in the Museum's history.

Chapter 3 discusses that in the case of the British Museum, the keepers influenced the amount and type of material received. For example, the ethnographic accessions made at the British Museum greatly increased from the 1850s, coinciding with the keeper of these ethnographical objects, Augustus Wollaston Franks, making a conscious effort to increase the number of accessions. He actively made contacts and encouraged the collection and donation of foreign material by people who had the opportunity to travel (see section 3.3.3). John E. Gray, Keeper of Zoology, actually produced an instruction booklet advising people how to collect natural history, copies of which were sent to the Colonial Office in an attempt to increase the foreign material of the department (see section 3.3.4).

Hill (2005: 75) notes that curators seemed to favour collections from the locality, but I suggest that this was not always the case. At the Liverpool Museum, the large amount of foreign material which they held was attributed to the curator Thomas Moore, who made a concerted effort to guide foreign material into the museum to the detriment of local collections (as did other curators such as Samuel Stutchbury, curator at the Bristol Philosophical Institution; Branagan 1993; section 1.8.5). Moore actively encouraged people to donate colonial material by constructing an instruction book for sailors (a similar tactic to that employed by Gray at the British Museum), and sending out a circular to people of the town asking them to collect and donate foreign material (see section 6.2.2). He had a network of contacts whom he exploited, including museums situated in the colonies (see section 6.2.4) as well as animal dealers, menageries and natural history sale rooms (see section 6.2.5). Moore's previous employment was with the Earl of Derby (a well-known collector), so he would have been clearly aware of the networks he made in order to form his collection (see section 6.1.2), a method which Moore seemed to emulate. It was not until his death that an effort was made by his successor (Dr Forbes) to improve the local collections held by the museums, primarily owing to the lack of emphasis and attention given to them by Moore (see section 6.2.10). The

influence of the curator and the emphasis given to foreign material can also be seen at Leeds PLS where Henry Denny was known for actively encouraging the accession of colonial material. This is especially evident when compared to his successor, Louis Miall (1871-1891), who was much more selective over the material he accessioned (see section 8.5).

Committee members of Society museums also had an impact on the material which was acquired. In the case of the Saffron Walden NHS, for example, it was the Committee members who made an effort to contact those who had colonial collections or connections with the British colonies in order to solicit material for their Museum (see section 4.2.1). The religious beliefs of these people may have also influenced the choice of material displayed in the museum. The Committee of Saffron Walden NHS, which contained a number of Quakers, was particularly keen to collect and display the material culture of other nations (see section 4.1).

It is evident that in some cases curators and committee members successfully managed to influence the type of collections donated to their museum, although it is difficult to correlate their activities directly with the flow of colonial acquisitions. Their influence is not unexpected as one of their main occupational concerns was filling the museum with exhibits. However, what is interesting to note is that when encouraging the collection and donation of material, many actually favoured and encouraged the donation of foreign material over local material, raising the interesting question of why this was the case (which will be discussed later in section 9.2).

9.1.3 The advantage of geographical location

The museums examined within this study can be separated into two groups, those located inland (Leeds PLS and Saffron Walden NHS), and those on the coast (Whitby LPS, Newcastle NHS and the Liverpool Museum). Port museums had the advantage of the direct routes which connected their town with the British colonies. The more direct links a town had, the greater the opportunities for people of the town to visit these places and collect whilst there. It was proclaimed both in Liverpool and Newcastle that their location on ports would be advantageous in terms of acquiring valuable additions for their museums (see sections 6.1.3 and 7.1.1). Liverpool had the strongest connections, their long relationship with West Africa spanning back to the days of the slave trade (see section 6.1.4) and this connection is clearly reflected in the colonial material that the Liverpool Museum accessioned, the majority of which came from Africa (see section 6.1.5; Figure 6.2). Individual donors also demonstrate the advantage of these direct links, for example, one of the largest collections received by Liverpool Museum was composed of African material (both ethnography and natural history),

donated by Arnold Ridyard, an engineer who worked for a Liverpool shipping company (see section 6.2.3). Furthermore, animal traders based in Liverpool also had large quantities of African material, which were available for Liverpool Museum to purchase (see section 6.2.5). Direct quantitative evidence of the advantage of these links is illustrated by the fact that during the 1860s, when shipping links to India and Australia from Liverpool increased, so did the number of ship captains who donated to the Liverpool Museum (see section 6.2.3; Table 6.3).

Colonial material entered Newcastle NHS as a direct result of shipping connections such as the coolie trade (see section 7.3.1). A comment by John Wooler (a donor who sent natural history material from India to the Newcastle NHS) also highlights the importance direct colonial access gave in terms of acquiring colonial material (see section 7.3.1):

> A trade which the port of Newcastle has now opened with India favours my direct transmission of collections as I may get them ready; and if the Society can so far accommodate me, I will put up greater varieties as moths, mantis, butterflies collecting the sorts most to be valued, how to know them, where to hunt them etc.[5]

Whitby LPS also received material as a result of the connections they had with the colonies via their port. For example, a number of ship captains who worked on vessels that transported convicts and emigrants to Australia donated Australian material to the Society (see section 5.3.2).

It may thus be assumed that museums on ports, would receive colonial material at a rate which reflected the ebb and flow of particular trade routes to individual colonies. However, it seems that location did not have the primary influence on the overall flow of this material since the combined flow of colonial acquisitions to museums located on ports and those located inland experienced similar trends (Figure 9.3), mirroring the flow of colonial acquisitions displayed by port and inland museums combined (Figure 3.3). At Whitby LPS the tonnage received by the port of Whitby from colonial and foreign lands did not correlate with the amount of colonial material received by the Society (see section 5.3.4; Figure 5.9), and there was very limited evidence (possibly with the exception of the rise in Australian material coinciding with a number of Whitby vessels transporting emigrants and convicts to Australia; see section 5.3.2) indicating that location on a port affected the flow of colonial material. This again suggests that factors at the level of the museum itself were the strongest force controlling the flow of colonial acquisitions (see section 9.1.1).

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[5] Letter from Mr J. Wooler to the Newcastle NHS dated 27th March, 1840 NEWHM:1996.H278.50

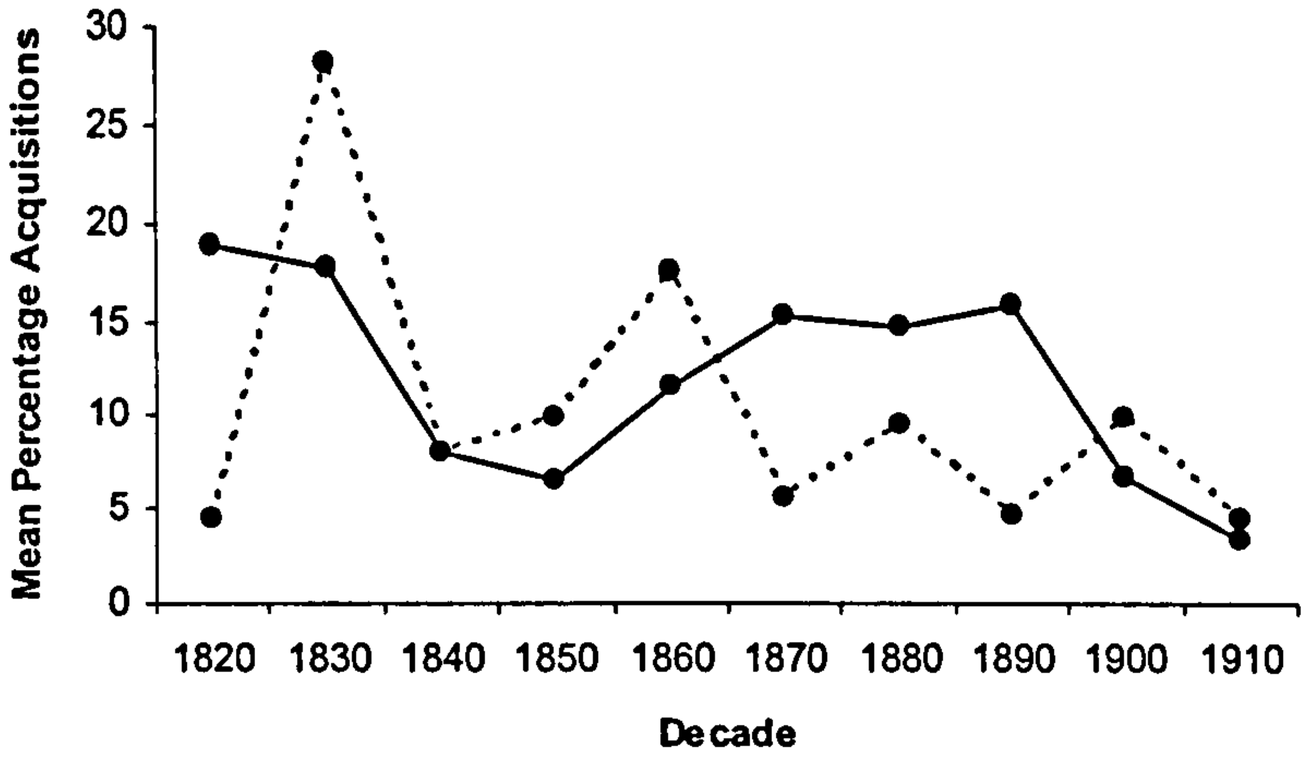

Figure 9.3 Colonial acquisitions received by port (solid line) and inland (dashed line) museums from 1823 to 1914.

While these shared trends suggest that the location of a museum did not have a major influence on the flow of colonial material, it does not mean that location had no affect on the *type* or *quantity* of material acquired. On the contrary, with respect to the port museums examined, the trade routes associated with individual ports were reflected through the specific acquisitions museums received, and there is no doubt that the position of the museum on a port did affect the quantity of colonial material received. However, before looking at this in more detail, it is important to note that at some point during the period examined (although not necessarily throughout), there is evidence that each museum, whether located on a port or inland, actively desired and even encouraged the acquisition of colonial material (although the extent of this encouragement did vary).

Leeds PLS, Liverpool Museum, Newcastle NHS and Saffron Walden NHS, all spent a proportion of their budget purchasing colonial material (see section 4.2.1; 6.2.5; 7.3.1; 8.3.1; 8.4.1) and each museum targeted specific groups (e.g. sea captains), individuals and institutions (e.g. museums located in the colonies) because of their ability to acquire and donate colonial material. For example, both Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS sent circulars to particular members of the town associated with the shipping industry, asking them to collect and donate colonial material (see sections 6.2.2 and 7.3.2). However, as already mentioned, Liverpool Museum took this one step further, composing and distributing an instruction booklet for sailors on how to collect (see section 6.2.2), and equipment was presented to those travelling abroad to aid them in this task (as was also the case at Newcastle NHS) (see section 6.2.2 and 7.3.1). Each museum made a point of acknowledging and praising those who donated colonial material, often in their annual reports, and by awarding them with honorary membership to their society as a reward for their efforts (e.g. see sections 5.2.1 & 7.6). Both Whitby LPS and Newcastle NHS gave special privileges to soldiers and

sailors who had access to the colonies, allowing them free admission, possibly as a way to encourage them to visit and to entice them to donate material to the museum (see sections 5.2.1 and 7.5.1).

Although all museums encouraged the acquisition of colonial material, the quantity received varied between those surveyed. The figures suggest that museums located on ports had an advantage; Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS, both on ports, received the greatest amount of colonial material (although Whitby LPS seems to be an exception) (see Figure 9.1). The amount of material received by Liverpool Museum was much greater (788 colonial acquisitions during a period of just under 50 years) than the amount received by Newcastle NHS (209 colonial acquisitions in just over 80 years). This could be explained by the scale of the two ports at which each museum was located. The port of Liverpool was larger and more successful, with more shipping lines and connections with other countries, including the colonies (especially Africa; see section 6.1.4). It is not surprising therefore that Liverpool Museum received over three times the acquisitions of Newcastle NHS. This theory is backed up by the mere 59 colonial acquisitions received by Whitby LPS (Figure 9.1); its port was considerably smaller than both Liverpool and Newcastle.

When investigating how, and from whom, individual museums received colonial material, it is apparent that being situated on a port provided opportunities to acquire colonial material that was unavailable to museums located inland. The accession records of port museums included a category of donors not found at inland museums. This category consisted of people connected with the shipping industry, especially ship captains. Liverpool Museum, Newcastle NHS and Whitby LPS all received colonial material from ship captains (as well as other people directly associated with shipping and the port) and they were perceived as valued donors, some acting as a regular source of colonial material for the museum. For example, Captain John Currie, one of Newcastle NHS's most regular donors, was encouraged by the Society to donate foreign material by providing him with collecting equipment to take with him on his travels (see section 7.3.1). Whitby LPS and Liverpool Museum often praised sea captains within committee minutes and annual reports for the important contributions they made. Liverpool Museum even purchased colonial material from local sea captains (see section 6.2.2) and in some cases they were not only exploited as collectors but were utilised as contacts, arranging exchanges with foreign institutions (see section 6.2.2). A number of sea captains were rewarded with honorary memberships to societies, or in the case of Liverpool Museum, were promised associate membership of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society if they donated material (see section 6.2.2). Others associated with the port were also actively encouraged to collect and donate foreign material. Dock workers, ship-owners and merchants all made donations (see sections 6.2.2 and 7.3.2) and so those associated with the oceans were clearly valuable to museums. Murray (1904: 246) recommended that museums

should make the most of the commercial connections and mercantile fleets which gave them access to material from around the globe, criticising the Hunterian and Kelvingrove Museums in Glasgow for not doing so. It seems that Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS did exploit this source, although Liverpool did this to a much greater extent.

One disadvantage of the donations made by sea captains was that they tended to consist of single objects/specimens, often collected for their curiosity value (see section 5.2.1), rather than more complete or systematic collections collected for their scientific worth (Murray 1904: 246). Liverpool Museum tried to exercise some control over the donations sailors made. They were aware that sea captains could be a valuable source of colonial material, but also that they did not have a basic knowledge of natural history and collecting. They tried to counteract this by providing them with a book of collecting instructions. A similar practice was endorsed by Murray (1904: 246); however, rather than only giving instructions on how to collect, he suggested that this should be accompanied by a specific list of material which the museum desired. No evidence was found to suggest that the museums examined within this study employed this method (Newcastle NHS did compose a list of ornithological desiderata, but it is not known who exactly was given this list).

The influence of location (port versus inland) on the quantity of colonial material received could however be questioned. It is evident that Whitby LPS, a port museum, received a smaller amount of colonial material than both the inland museums of Leeds PLS and Saffron Walden NHS (Figure 9.1). It was the major provincial towns (Liverpool, Newcastle and Leeds; all of which were given city status) with a large mercantile-industrial wealth which received the most colonial acquisitions. For example, Liverpool, which received by far the greatest amount of colonial material, was then located in the county of Lancashire which by the mid-nineteenth century was the second wealthiest county in England (Darcy 1976: 7). It may be that museums located in cities and major (rather than minor) towns generally had more favourable conditions (including greater wealth and a larger population, which was likely to manifest as financial stability and greater visitor numbers at the level of the museum) for the acquisition of colonial material; this however needs further research (see section 10.3).

Museums located in port towns were no doubt at an advantage over inland museums in terms of access to colonial material due to the direct links they had with the colonies, and people associated with the port (ship captains, for example) often acted as an extra source of colonial material for these museums. Having an inland location, however, was by no means a hindrance to acquiring colonial material, as can be seen by the quantity of material acquired by museums such as Leeds PLS (Figure 9.1). Indeed, even the small museum of Saffron Walden NHS acquired more material than the similar sized, but coastal Whitby LPS because

despite lacking maritime contacts, people within or connected to the Saffron Walden community had sufficient contact with the colonies to provide them with this material.

9.1.4 Political, social and colonial activity

While the previous sections have revealed how factors at both the local and museum level influenced the acquisition of colonial material, this section aims to examine whether international political events were reflected in the colonial acquisitions of the museums studied. There is evidence that the flow of colonial material to the national museums (the British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History)) closely mirrored international events (Miller 1973: 318; see section 3.3.3); during the early nineteenth century, for instance, when the South Seas were being colonised, the national museum's collections were dominated by material from this area, while at the end of the century a change in colonial interests (Africa experiencing intense exploration, pacification and settlement by the British) resulted in a rise in the amount of African material acquired (*ibid.*). However, an examination of the flow of colonial acquisitions from the individual colonies of India, Africa and Australia revealed similar patterns; material from each colony entering the museum at a similar rate throughout the century, even though relations with these separate colonies changed throughout this time (see section 3.2; Figures 3.4; 4.3; 5.3; 6.3; 7.4; 8.2). These patterns mirrored the overall flow of colonial material. This suggests that British colonial activity may have exerted only a minor influence on the flow of this material.[6]

However there is some evidence that, in a similar fashion to the British Museum, when the political interest in Africa rose at the end of the century, the amount of African material to provincial museums was greater than both Indian and Australian material (for all five museums combined; see section 3.3.3; Figure 3.4). Similarly, when each museum was examined individually, the same trend occurred. For example, at Saffron Walden NHS, Newcastle NHS and Leeds LPS, the quantity of African material was greater than both Australian and Indian material at the end of the nineteenth century. This was especially prevalent at Liverpool Museum, which experienced a rapid rise in African material in the 1890s (perhaps exaggerated by the trade links which the port of Liverpool had with Africa). However, it is doubtful that this was significant and this data should be viewed with caution, as in some cases, such as at Leeds PLS, although African material was greater than Australian and Indian material at the end of the 1800s, this was also the case at other points during the century. There is also no evidence that other international political events affected colonial

[6] It should be noted however that the acquisition date of material does not necessarily reflect the collection date, which may have a stronger correlation with British colonial activity (see section 2.4.4).

acquisition flow; for example, although the Indian Mutiny (1857-1858) saw an increase in the number of British troops sent to India there was no corresponding rise in Indian material received by museums on their return. Thus, although international political events no doubt influenced the colonial material which museums received (without the connections which the expansion of the British Empire gave, museums would not have had such access to the colonies and the material they held), the evidence suggests that they did not directly affect the flow of this material to individual museums.

Others authors have found correlations between provincial museum accessions and colonial activities. For instance, Jones (2001: 329) has argued that the Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars (1842) and the high level of missionary activity in the Pacific can explain the apparently biased occupations of donors who donated material from China and the Pacific to Ipswich museum around the middle of the century, since Chinese objects were predominantly donated by servicemen and Pacific objects from clergymen. However, the evidence on which this conclusion is based, while suggestive, could be merely coincidental; it does not compare other periods in time (were soldiers collecting before and after the escalation in military activity in China, for instance?) and fails to account for the occupations of other donors who were collecting around the same period. By accounting for every colonial object (and the sources they came from) acquired by museums over a wide period of time, my methodology avoids these problems (see section 2.4).

In addition to following physical events, it could be hypothesised that the chronological profile of the collections received by museums may shed light on the changing nature of nineteenth-century English society over the nineteenth century and shifts in the ways of thinking. Owen (1999: 285-288 & 290-293) employed a similar methodology to that of this thesis, looking at the chronological profile and content of a collection (a form of discourse analysis) formed by Sir John Lubbock, to show that Lubbock primarily collected material systematically according to an intellectual rationale expounded by the sociocultural evolution discourse. Owen (*ibid.*: 293-299) related a peak in the number of collecting events made by Lubbock in the late 1860s to the debate on the origins of humans and the development of human society which took place during this period, suggesting that Lubbock's ethnographic collecting provides evidence of the sociocultural evolutionary process. As the chronological profile of colonial material received differed between each museum examined in this thesis it is unlikely to shed light on the nature of nineteenth-century society in the same way as Owen's (*ibid.*) finding in Lubbock's collection. By focussing on the collections of museums rather than individuals, the perturbations in acquisitions caused by events in society may be hidden by variations caused by the individual life-cycles of museums and their associated societies, the lack of control museums had over the donations they received and the temporal delay between the original collection of material and its donation to

the museum. However, a more in-depth look at the content of these collections and how they were displayed, for example, may be revealing. This will be explored further as this discussion progresses.

9.1.5 Patterns in the donation of natural history and ethnography

The colonial acquisitions received by the provincial museums examined consisted of material that I have classified as either natural history or ethnographic, although during the early years of the nineteenth century this material was often put under the same heading. John Taylor, a donor of the Newcastle NHS for example, donated specimens of botany, butterflies and a head of New Zealand chief, all of which he referred to as natural history (see section 7.3.1). At the Whitby LPS, they had a department named Miscellaneous Curiosities, which was dominated by ethnographic material, but also included foreign natural history specimens. It was normal at this time for ethnographic material to be referred to as curiosities and it was not until the mid-century that ethnography became recognised in its own right and appreciated for its historical and scientific importance (see section 1.7), with museums such as the Pitt Rivers Museum using ethnographical material to illustrate cultural evolution rather than just being used as curiosities (e.g. van Keuren 1989: 34).

In all cases it was natural history material which dominated acquisitions, often by a large percentage (see section 4.2; 5.2; 6.2.8; 7.2; 8.2). The dominance of this material is not surprising, as it was natural history, not ethnography which was central to the mission of these societies and museums. The intellectual interest driving the founders and curators was natural history and this was clearly reflected in the material accessioned. In terms of the Ipswich Museum, Jones (2001: 327) goes as far to suggest that the only reason that ethnography was present was because the local community thought it ought to be:

> The ethnography is present not because the museum committee thought it important to include it but because the wider community of Ipswich thought it important to present it to the Museum and make sure that it was seen.

This is confirmed by Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS, both of which encouraged the acquisitions of colonial material by sending out circulars appealing for the collection and donation of foreign natural history, but not ethnographic material. Ship captains (one of a group of people who these circulars were aimed at), however, still continued to donate ethnographic items which were not refused by the museum, and in many cases were valued for their curiosity (see section 9.2.2); demonstrating the power the donor had over the material

which entered the museum. This however does not apply to all English provincial museums. In some cases museum committees were keen for this material to be represented in their museums. For example, the Saffron Walden NHS original mission did specifically cover ethnographic material as well as natural history (see section 4.1):

> commenced a Museum which already included specimens, many of them rare and valuable, in the departments of Geology, Mineralogy, Entomology and Zoology in general, as well as Antiquities and other Productions, illustrative of the Arts, Manufactures, and habits of different Nations.[7]

The proportion of colonial natural history and ethnographic material acquired by the Saffron Walden NHS reflects this view, with the number of natural history acquisitions only just out-numbering ethnographic material (see section 4.2).

It may be expected that as the academic interest in ethnography rose as the century progressed there would be a corresponding rise in its acquisition and display by museums (in part as a result of the increasingly educational nature of museums). This was not confirmed when looking at the combined flow of ethnographic and natural history material to provincial museums (see section 3.4.3; Figure 3.5), although when examining some of the individual museums it is clear that the amount of ethnographic material accessioned did rise as the century progressed. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the Liverpool Museum (Figure 6.4). It took a couple of decades and a large donation from Joseph Mayer, but in 1879 ethnography and antiquities were given their own department and from then on were treated with more importance, a permanent display area finally given over to them by the end of the century. The rise in ethnographic collection also coincided with the appointment of a new curator, Dr. H.O. Forbes, who was known to have an interest in ethnography and African Art (he came from an academic background in anthropology; see section 6.2.8). He no doubt encouraged the donation of ethnographic material.

Similarly, at Newcastle NHS, as the century progressed, there was a noticeable rise in the amount of ethnographic material accessioned and increased space given over to its display (although only a small area when compared to natural history) (see section 7.5.2), and although not reflected in the number of ethnographic acquisitions made, Leeds PLS also encouraged the collection and donation of ethnographic material due to its historical importance. They realised that (owing to colonialism) many cultures across the globe would soon be extinct and therefore, for posterity, it was necessary to collect material associated with these other cultures (see section 8.6). There was no corresponding rise in ethnographic material at Whitby LPS, Saffron Walden NHS and Leeds LPS, perhaps owing to a

[7] Saffron Walden Natural History Society Minutes No. 1, 1832 to 10 April 1834. 6th March 1834.

combination of factors, for example, the dominance of natural history or the move from the display of a worldwide collection, to material from the local area (see section 9.2.5). These differences in the collection and display of natural history and ethnographic material again highlight the individuality of English provincial museums and their singular identity in terms of their development and the collections they acquired (see section 9.1.1).

Although I have referred to this material culture as ethnographic, signifying scholarly and scientific study of other cultures and societies, the majority of colonial material was not acquired by the museum or even the collector for this purpose, more owing to circumstance. The only museum which really defies this statement is Liverpool Museum, and this was only the case at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, when a curator with an interest in the subject was employed (see section 6.2.8).

9.2 The roles played by colonial material within the provincial museum

All five of the provincial museums identified in this study received colonial material throughout the nineteenth century (Figure 9.2) and there is evidence that they all encouraged its accession at some point during this period; many colonial accessions were described as 'fine', 'important' and 'rare' in the annual reports, thus illustrating their significance. But why did museums accession this material, what role did it play and what advantages did this material deliver?

Nineteenth-century public museums have been identified as places for educating (e.g. Hooper Greenhill 1994; Greenwood 1888: 25-33), socialising (e.g. Withers & Finnegan 2003; Naylor 2002; Withers 2001) and civilising society (e.g. Greenwood 1888: viii; Bennett 1995) (see sections 1.5.1 & 1.5.2); roles which have been confirmed through the examination of provincial museums in this study. Museums (and associated societies) aimed to be educational institutions which would aid the masses, contributing to the progress and prosperity of their town (see section 1.5.1), often with an emphasis on the inclusion of all classes; for example Leeds LPS stated that their Society would 'cultivate the taste of the humbler classes of society'[8] (see section 8.3.2). However, it is questionable whether this aim was ever fulfilled (see Hill (2005: 125-142) for a discussion on the topic of municipal museum visitors). The educational impetus frequently included scientific research (see section 9.2.1). In addition to education, some museums did acknowledge their role as entertainers, although this was often secondary to education (see section 9.2.2). Social forces including civic pride and rivalry inspired the establishment of a number of museums. Liverpool

[8] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1841-42

Museum and Whitby LPS were established because it was felt that as other towns were home to museums and societies, their towns should also host such institutions (see sections 5.1 and 6.1.1). In addition to these educational and social roles, it is evident that Saffron Walden NHS was established in an attempt to play a civilising role in society, as an instrument to quell discontent (see section 4.1). It should be acknowledged that not all museums performed the same functions. Hill (2005: 146), for instance, concludes that municipal museums can be viewed as the outcome of competition between different groups to define them and therefore did not all implement one particular agenda.

This section will go on to discuss how the accession of colonial material helped to fulfil some of the roles which museums played; in particular it will focus on education (see section 9.2.1), entertainment (see section 9.2.2) and civic pride (see section 9.2.3). It will look at a possible source of inspiration for provincial museums which may have driven them to acquire colonial material, national museums (see section 9.2.4), before finally looking at the effect of the universal versus local collection debate on the acquisition of colonial material (see section 9.2.5).

9.2.1 Colonial material and education

Colonial collections played an important part in the educating mission of the provincial museum. On their establishment museums intended to educate their visitors by giving them a universal outlook on both the cultural and the natural world, rather than simply concentrating on the local area (although attitudes towards universal and local collections changed as the century progressed; see section 9.2.5). Saffron Walden NHS, for example, stated their wish to educate visitors about world cultures (see section 4.1). Colonial material played an essential part in providing this universal perspective.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the roles of museums evolved (Bennett 1995: 177-208; Hill 2000: 6; Coombes 1994: 44, 81 & 109) and with the help of organisations such as the Museums Association (formed in 1889), became more well-defined. Museums had a responsibility to justify themselves to the public, government and other sources of funding, and they could no longer do this solely through their collections and buildings (Hill 2000: 18). Together with the establishment of the Education Act (1870), their role as popular educators was very much encouraged and rose on their agendas (Murray 1904: 259-262). For example, there was a clear emphasis on education at Newcastle NHS at the end of the century; collecting was overtaken by education, including children's lectures (see section 7.5.2).

The primary way by which museums were valued as educational organisations was through their collections and in particular their arrangement; it was thought that they should

be classified and arranged systematically and therefore in an informative manner, displaying scientific knowledge and understanding (Levell 2001a: 193-196; Murray 1904: 263; see section 1.5.3). Hooper-Greenhill (1992) has used the idea of Foucault's epistemes (how a culture acquires and organises knowledge in a given historical period; Foucault 1970; 1974: 191) to try and understand museum displays and the knowledge they produce. In the modern episteme there was a desire 'to know why it is that things came to look as they do' (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 17). It is no coincidence then that the natural sciences and museums arose alongside systematic collecting, since they are all interrelated; systematic collecting requires an underlying structure (such as the taxonomy of natural history) which necessitates demonstration through display. It is this need for structured knowledge that reveals the assumptions of the era, and underlies the colonial desire to control the rest of the world, from its physical and natural laws to other cultures and races (Pearce 1992: 87).

Leeds PLS, Newcastle NHS and Liverpool Museum (interestingly the museums which acquired the largest amount of colonial material) put the greatest emphasis on collecting and displaying a complete series of specimens. Leeds PLS solely justified the accession of foreign material for its scientific value rather than for mere curiosity or entertainment (see section 8.3.1). They aimed to own complete sets of specimens which would fully illustrate and represent the animal kingdom. Specimens, especially foreign ones, were often appreciated as they would fill gaps which were present in the collections (see section 8.6):

> [They would] furnish a good illustration of the principal groups in the order Marsupialia and the entire order Monotremata, while the contributions from Mr. William Gott, Mr. Brown, Mr. Beckett, Viscount Goderich, Mr. Leather, and Mr. Beecroft, supply examples of *nearly* all genra in the order Bruta, which have long been desiderata in the Museum.[9]

Leeds PLS wanted to use their display to exhibit 'variations of form and structure' (see section 8.4.1),[10] which to succeed needed to include specimens from across the globe and Newcastle NHS desired to acquire a complete ornithological collection, aiming to cover every genera (see section 7.3.1). Gaining a complete classification of the natural history of the world was seen as one way to educate and to add to existing scientific knowledge with the bonus of attracting popular attention (see section 9.2.2).

The zoological material was displayed according to its taxonomic classification (ornithological specimens displayed together and divided according to order, family, genera

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[9] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1857-58
[10] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59

etc., for instance) with very little textual information (which was usually limited to the Latin binominal of the specimen, the name of the donor and its origin, which itself was often very vague, such as 'Africa'). While at some museums (such as the Pitt Rivers Museum) ethnographic objects were classified and displayed according to theories of sociocultural evolution (and hence outwardly reflecting world views on different cultures and validating power relations between the colonised and the coloniser), on the surface it seems that natural history material was displayed neutrally (for more information see section 9.4 below). However, there is little doubt that a certain degree of association would be made by the viewer between these strange and exotic specimens and the country from which they originated (see section 9.2.2).

Newly colonised countries were particularly popular with museums, as it meant they were relatively unexplored and therefore potentially held a host of novel and rare specimens. By acquiring species new to science (type specimens) museums could fill the gaps which existed in current scientific knowledge. Scientific investigations were carried out on such colonial specimens to add to the current body of knowledge. For example, Newcastle NHS carried out an anatomical examination on a duck-billed platypus (see section 7.3.1) and was extremely excited by the donation of an Australian fish, *Ceratodus fosteri*, because of its scientific value (see section 7.4). Leeds PLS was particularly active in the study of anatomy, to which colonial material such as the Mayor's gift of a giraffe contributed (see section 8.4.2). Miall, curator of Leeds PLS museum, emphasised the value of research and was himself active in anatomical research (see section 8.5).

Several museums including Leeds PLS, were not only interested in the natural world, but also human cultures, especially colonial societies, which were often seen as the closest link to the extinct past. It was realised that many other cultures were fast disappearing, native implements were often discarded for those of European manufacture, and museums wanted to preserve these original native implements for historians of the future (see section 8.6). An examination of the lectures which were offered by societies also revealed that there was a desire to learn more about the colonies, with lectures covering a variety of topics including colonial societies and their natural landscape (e.g. Table 8.2). Many of these lectures were personal accounts of travel abroad, while others provided a more general insight into the prevailing attitudes towards colonialism: titles such as 'The value of India to England' and 'British expansion in Africa' no doubt highlighting the perceived supremacy of the British over their conquests. A number of lectures were devoted to the natives of the colonies. Delivered by speakers such as Edward Tylor, one of the founder figures of anthropology, it is almost certain that these lectures promoted the predominating idea of sociocultural evolution, authenticating the power relations of the colonists over the colonised.

As the century progressed and the educational ethos of museums became stronger, museums increasingly tried to avoid displaying curiosities which had no educational value; they did not want to be stereotypically described as 'merely curiosity shops' (Greenwood 1888: 13). Indeed, by the end of the century there was much contention over the use of the terms 'curio' and 'curiosity' to describe ethnographic material as it was felt they did not portray the educational value of this material (Coombes 1994: 113). At Liverpool Museum the collector Arnold Ridyard was guided by the curators who wanted to change his collecting behaviour from exotic curiosities to more mundane objects (Tythacott 2001: 158); their primary aim was to use collections to produce educational displays (Hill 2005: 105-108). Following a change in curator (in 1871), Leeds PLS became more scrupulous in terms of acquisitions, only accepting material which fit into their systematic collections, actively avoiding curiosities (see section 8.5). Murray (1904: 249) suggested that it was crucial for museums to be more scrupulous, advising that they issue lists of desiderata to prevent material entering the museum by chance and in a haphazard way. Bennett (1995: 39) also comments that towards the end of the century there was a change from 'rarity' to 'representiveness'. It could be questioned however, if it is ever possible to have a fully representative collection. Using zoological material as an example, if museums were trying to provide a representative sample of the organisms living within the locale, they would have to decide whether to display an example of each family, genera or species, whether to display both males and females, adults and juveniles, and whether to provide examples or each morph (in the case of many butterflies and moths, for example) and regionally distinct subspecies. Further problems came about through the discovery of new species and changing classifications, and there were also a number of physical barriers. For example, as discussed in more detail below, curators did not always have control over the objects which entered the museum, making representative collections difficult to acquire.

In terms of acquiring colonial collections, especially ethnographic, it seems that there was a battle by some museums to prove that they were accessioned for their scientific and educative value, rather than their curiosity value:

> a department, valuable, not as administering to a vulgar puerile admiration of mere curiosities, but as furnishing luminous illustrations of the truths of Nature and of Science, without which the researches of the student are perplexed, fruitless and unsatisfactory.[11]

The 'luminous illustrations of the truths of nature' could allude to the use of nature as proof for the existence of God. The close observation of nature brought one closer to God's creation

[11] Fourth Report of the Council on the general state of LPLS 1822-23: 5

and to the timeless truths of natural world, and so the greater one's knowledge of nature the closer they would be to God. However, this statement also emphasises the use of specimens and objects to promote scientific research and the advancement of knowledge, rather than for mere curiosity value. During the 1820s, several new discoveries relating to natural history and science (themselves 'luminous illustrations of the truths of nature') were making people question fundamental aspects of the natural world; the nature of life on earth, where and when life began, how rocks were formed and how old the earth is. Science and ideas were changing so rapidly that although on the one hand people could look for order and design and evidence for divine intervention, on the other hand new techniques and new ideas were causing them to question what they saw around them; an idea epitomised by Darwin's theory of evolution. Before his breakthrough, a species was viewed as an eternally fixed category of creation, but for Darwin (and other historical biologists) the term *species* is simply a convenient and temporary label for something that was not there (or was very different) in the past and which will disappear or change fundamentally in the future. As a result, the very idea of a species loses its claim to represent the eternal reality of nature; the truth. This fundamental paradigm shift demonstrates a transition towards a more scientific way of thinking about the world, which relied increasingly less on faith.

Museums which were not seen to educate because their collections were not organised in a systematic fashion were highly criticised. For example, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, Curator of Manchester Museum, made an address in 1876 comparing British museums to those on the Continent, complimenting the well-ordered nature of the latter and condemning the 'bazaar' nature of British museums (his tirade was aimed at private and society museums). He described them as:

> a receptacle for miscellaneous curiosities ... an accumulation of objects, valuable in themselves but valueless for all practical purposes. (Lewis 1989: 1)

This change of heart, the use of objects for 'practical purposes', can be related to the economic and social developments of the nineteenth century. In a global context, during the nineteenth century, Britain set the pace in terms of technological innovation (e.g. railways) and economic development. It was the country's mission to be economically ahead and therefore more successful than other countries (Black & Macralid 2003: 22-24) and this was actually expressed through the Great Exhibition of 1851. By displaying works of art and industry from all over the globe it was hoped that as well as displaying Britain's economic strength it would also serve to raise the level of industrial design (Auerbach 1999: 10-14). There was therefore a very practical purpose for this exhibition and it was this 'practical purpose' which Lewis above is referring to. During this period the idea of progress was

inseparable from self-improvement. It was believed even those of the lower classes could improve themselves if they worked hard and avoided immoral temptations. Leisure activities were caught up in this ideology; they had to have structure with meaning (Black & Macralid 2003: 262-264). The museum therefore needed to have a practical purpose, to civilise the population and it was believed that this could not be done through the display of miscellaneous curiosities only through the display of systematic collections, which could actually educate and therefore improve visitors.

The examples used in this section are primarily taken from the museums which acquired the largest amounts of colonial material. The smaller museums - Whitby LPS and Saffron Walden NHS - did not emphasise the scientific role of their colonial material in the same manner. This is not surprising when the relatively small amount of colonial material they acquired is taken into consideration, making it difficult to display within a complete series of specimens. On their establishment, a number of provincial museums aimed to both entertain and impress (Kavanagh 1990: 14), a role into which colonial material fitted well (see section 9.2.2). However, to use this material for practical purposes, to make the museum scientifically and educationally valuable, was often difficult. Donors often controlled the type of material the museum acquired, and the museum itself was generally unable to predict what donations would consist of. In some cases, even if the museum did not need or want the collections which were offered by locals, they felt as if they should accept them in order to encourage and maintain support (Sheets-Pyenson 1988: 11), although there was always the possibility of exchanging them with other museums at a later date. This led to an unplanned assembly of objects and specimens (rather than a representative collection). For example, within the first few years of formation, Saffron Walden NHS received an ethnographic collection of aboriginal weapons and six crates of natural history from Algoa Bay, South Africa (see section 4.2.1). The resulting assemblage of material brought with it problems in terms of organising it systematically, thus compromising the scientific and educational value of the museum (this was also the case for the Penzance Natural History Society; see Naylor 2002).

The majority of colonial material held by Whitby LPS, both ethnographic and natural history, comprised of souvenirs collected and donated by sailors for their curiosity rather than for their scientific value (Murray 1904: 246; see section 5.2.1).[12] Sailors obviously had no training in natural history or ethnography and so had no idea as to what was scientifically important and therefore they collected objects owing to their curiosity rather than scientific value (Murray 1904: 246). Many were only interested in collecting objects for their own gain, often selling objects/specimens (owing to their curiosity value) to make a profit (Thomas

[12] For more information on the collection of souvenirs see Stewart (1993).

1991: 141). However, there is little evidence that they were bought by museums. To assemble a systematic, educational display with curiosities (for example one donation made by a Captain to Whitby LPS included: African beads, an East Indian Idol and a crocodile), would be extremely difficult. Only the museums which received regular and large amounts of colonial material could possibly accomplish the display of systematic collections. Liverpool Museum, for example, was formed on a very large natural history collection containing a number of systematic collections from throughout the world (see section 6.1.2). Combined with its finances and access to the rest of the world through its large and successful port, it gained large quantities of material from across the globe which could be display in a systematic manner.

9.2.2 Colonial material and entertainment

In addition to playing an educative role, colonial material displayed within museums also entertained viewers; they were valued owing to their rarity and aesthetic appearance. People visited the museum for amusement, and it is was often the foreign, exotic specimens which attracted the viewers' attention (Murray 1904: 265-269). This role however was not often emphasised as it could blur the educative role of these institutions (see section 9.2.1). In museums of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, colonial material was frequently used for effect and drama, colonial material often displayed in theatrical styles (for example the Royal Tiger in William Bullock's Museum, consisting of a tiger in combat with a boa; Wonders 1989: 132-133). Murray (1904: 228) comments that the idea of the museum in 1816 was practically unchanged from what it had been two centuries earlier in terms of the curiosities it contained and Kavanagh (1990: 14) describes the early municipal museum as simply designed to impress rather than for any practical purpose. Colonial material, owing to its rarity and difference compared to local material caught people's attention. Murray (1904: 189) talks of museums displaying ethnographical objects:

> to excite in the spectator a feeling of wonder and surprise, in some cases by their rudeness and clumsiness.

This can be related to the culture of spectatorship that developed in the nineteenth century, made evident by the rise in spectator leisure activities (made possible by the new division between work and leisure that emerged, giving people more free time to fill) such as zoos, sport (especially football and cricket) and music halls (Lowerson & Myerscough 1977). This quote, in addition to evidence presented in this study (see below), clearly illustrates that

museums fitted into this category. Connected to spectatorship was the rise of visual culture; the 1840s saw the development of both popular weekly newspapers and the first periodicals that were principally devoted to graphic news, such as *Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper* (1842).[13] In addition to these newspapers, which were aimed predominantly at an artisan audience, were more expensive periodicals like the *Illustrated London News* (1842) and *Punch* (1841) (Brown 1985: 7-53). These often included illustrations of the natural history of the colonies and their spectacular nature, for example, Figure 9.4 illustrates the chaos caused by a kangaroo which escaped from London Zoo.

Figure 9.4 Hand-coloured etching by R. Cruikshank (c.1840), of a kangaroo escaping from London Zoo (Blunt 1976: 36).

Although the museums in this study did not go to the extent of William Bullock (see above), colonial material did entertain the viewer, even if the museum did not see this as its primary purpose or publicly denied that this was the case (see section 8.3.1). In some cases colonial material was specifically acquired for this purpose, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century (Thomas 1991: 126-151). Whitby LPS acknowledged the ability of

[13] This paper was intended to compete with *The Illustrated London News,* however, the authorities intervened, and, in 1843 illustrations were removed and it was renamed the *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper.*

colonial material, which they referred to as curiosities, to attract the curious as well as the scientific and learned (see section 5.2.1) and unlike Leeds PLS did not try to hide this (see section 8.3.1). For example, they appealed to members to exchange local geological material for foreign material which they believed would 'profit the lovers of science, as well as please the curious';[14] thus illustrating that foreign material could be both educative as well as entertaining. This clearly distinguished Whitby LPS from the other museums who only put an emphasis on the scientific and educative role of colonial material. John Henry Parker, appointed in 1869 curator of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, confirms that curiosities were useful as they brought people into the museum, and once within the museum environment, it could be hoped that they would also learn:

> I do not wish to exclude curiosities from it; they attract people, and when they are brought hither by curiosity, they may stop to learn something better; they may want to know something of the history of the curiosities they have come to see. (cited in Murray 1904: 204)

There is much evidence that this material was popular to the viewer owing to its striking appearance and curiosity value. Alberti (2000: 128-129) emphasises that it was not the local objects, but foreign curiosities which caught the viewers' attention, for example, the Whale at Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, the Bengal Tiger at Leeds LPS and the Polar Bear at Weston Park, Sheffield. Similarly Liverpool Museum claimed that African antelopes would be one of the most striking exhibits (see section 6.2.10). At Whitby LPS the majority of ethnographic material was collated within the Department of Miscellaneous Curiosities which in its early years was described as the most popular (see section 5.2.4). The ethnographic material displayed at the British Museum was also popular with visitors, from its display in the eighteenth century in the South Seas Room, through to the end of the nineteenth century (see section 3.3). A comment made by an early visitor to Saffron Walden NHS also confirms that it was colonial specimens which caught the viewer's attention. A description of the Museum by a viewer consisted of general comments on groups of specimens such as insects and birds, but then went on to mention individual specimens, the majority of which were charismatic colonial megafauna, such as the head of a rhinoceros (see section 4.3). In such cases it was obviously the colonial material which made a lasting impression and so not surprising that such material was often placed in prominent positions within the museum. The African natural material of the Saffron Walden Museum, for example, was placed in the centre of the room (see section 4.3), as was the Bengal tiger of Leeds PLS which was described as, 'the most attractive object in the collection' (see section

[14] 17th Annual Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society 1839

8.4.2).[15] These prominent positions may have been chosen owing to the ability of these specimens to amaze.

As well as entertaining the viewer through their striking appearance and rarity, these specimens may also have entertained by transporting the viewer to a different world, that is, the countries from which this colonial material originated. The viewer did not enter the museum without preconceptions (Carroll 2004: 42) and they would already have ideas about the other lands from which colonial specimens were collected, for example, through the live exhibition of colonial people (Coombes 1994: 86-108). For example, India was well-known to be depicted by Westerners as romantic and exotic (Said 1978; see section 1.3.1), an idea embellished by international exhibitions (see for example Levell 2002; see section 1.8). By combining skilled taxidermy, which gave specimens lifelike appearances (Wonders 1989: 131-141), and the knowledge which the viewer brought with them to the museum, museums may have provided an opportunity for people to venture to the colonies through the display of colonial material re-creating these Other landscapes. The transportation of museum visitors in this way has been called the real-world effect (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988: 3-4). Displaying objects and specimens from foreign lands allowed museums to give ordinary people the opportunity to experience landscapes which were previously only the domain of the travelling rich (Shelton 2001d: 21). Indeed Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1988: 131-176) describes museums as a surrogate for travel as they contain souvenirs collected from across the globe, in particular through the presentation of specimens and objects in habitat groups and re-created villages. Although it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that these forms of display were commonly used by museums, I suggest that even through simply taxonomic displays, museums were allowing people to be transported to sites otherwise removed in space.

Indeed, the detachment of these objects from their natural surroundings may well have affected the viewers' perception of them and where they came from. In his 1967 book *The Society of the Spectacle*, Debord suggested that reality is consistently being replaced by images, which then themselves, through their sheer quantity and detachment from the real world, become embedded in the viewers' perception of reality: 'all that once was directly lived has become mere representation. All real activity has been channelled into the global construction of the spectacle' (Debord 1994: 12). This is precisely what happened in terms of museums representing Empire; what was collected, donated and displayed in museums strongly influenced public perception of foreign places, peoples and objects.[16] As a consequence of this, what the viewing public (who did not have the opportunity themselves to

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[15] Annual Report of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, 1862-63

[16] Jeffers (2003: 108) also uses this Debordian view, in terms of museums and the public perception of art and society.

travel) saw became for them reality, so that the general perception of the colonies was nothing more than a collage of museum displays. Thus museums condemned viewers to a world in which they saw everything but understood nothing, allowing them only 'a random choice of ephemera' (*ibid.*).

These re-created landscapes experienced by viewers within the museum environment obviously were not representative of the colonies and their cultures and landscapes (invariably they were idealised and romanticised through Western eyes), as they often did only offer the viewer a 'random choice of ephemera'. However, fault did not lie entirely with the museums, as only the material donated could be displayed. As already discussed, colonial material was often donated to museums because of its curiosity value. For example, a favourite donation made by sailors to the Whitby LPS which were used to represent Australian Aborigines were their weapons, in particular, spears (see section 5.2.1). Although in the museum there would be no outward label of interpretation associated with these weapons, in accordance with the current thought of that time, people would have no doubt connected these objects with savagery rather than other aspects of aboriginal culture. However, this theory cannot be confirmed without extensive research into the viewers' response to this material, an area which has much been neglected in terms of the history of museums (Carroll 2004: 32-33; see section 10.4.1).

9.2.3 Colonial material and civic pride

Civic pride played an important role in the development of museums and societies which often acted as cultural symbols of the town in which they were located (Knell 2000: 52). It has been noted that the collection and display of local material within museums promoted knowledge, both natural and cultural, of the local area, which in turn contributed to civic pride (Naylor 2002: 509; Withers 2001: 188; see section 1.5.1). Similarly, Chessum & Waterfield (1998: 40) noted that municipal art galleries had collections by people who lived locally or had some connection to the town, in order to enhance a sense of local identity. Obviously colonial material could not do this, but it could contribute to civic pride by promoting the success and improving the status of the museum. The more successful a museum was the prouder the people of the locality would be of their museum. Sheets-Pyenson (1988: 16) has suggested that the holding of exotic colonial material helped to improve the reputation of a museum on a local, national and international level, and indeed other authors have agreed that the reputation of the museum was often determined by the collections it contained (e.g. Knell 2000: 115).

As revealed in the previous two sections, colonial material played a part in promoting the museum as an educational institution (see section 9.2.1) and also attracting visitors (see section 9.2.2). By doing this it contributed to the museum's success, raising its reputation (as well as boosting civic pride), which was important at a time when civic rivalry was high (Knell 2000: 54). Furthermore, it was thought that the state of the museum reflected the general state of the town in which it was located; for example, in Liverpool it was thought that by improving their Museum, the image of Liverpool would also be improved (see section 6.2.10):

> An extension of the Museums is a matter of urgent importance, as it is certainly a reflection upon the City that the scientific value of one of the finest natural history collections in the world is lost for want of space for its proper arrangement.[17]

However, the museum may in fact have been using this to their advantage by attempting to shame the city into granting more space and money to buy or build new premises for the museum. Similarly in Leeds it was thought necessary for its Society and Museum to be successful in order to 'place it in a position befitting the increasing importance of this great Capital of the West Riding' (see section 8.4.1).[18]

The majority of colonial material donated to provincial museums was presented, and in some cases (although not all) collected by people who lived in the local community (see section 6.3.1). These collections therefore illustrated the encounters which the local community had with the wider world during this period and their relationship with the Other. In the case of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Levell (2001a: 186) agrees that the ethnographic collection represented 'the local people's achievements in foreign lands'. The labelling of these objects in the museum was very simple, but did include the name of the donor and the place from which the object/specimen originated (unlike today where the relation between the object and the donor is often hidden; see section 9.5.2). This would reveal to viewers the connections which locals had with the colonies, or remind people of these connections, especially when society members were probably familiar with each other. The opportunity to travel often represented the wealth and cultural status of an individual, so the more foreign material contained within a museum, the more wealthy and cultured the locality was likely to be. If these collections did represent the connections the local

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[17] 42nd Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Library, Museum and Gallery of Arts of the City of Liverpool 1894.
It should be noted however that the role of museums as vehicles of civic pride did not continue throughout the century. Hill (2000: 3-4) uses the Liverpool Museum to suggest that this role ended around the 1890s.

[18] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59

community had with the wider world, this may well have raised civic pride (see section 4.4 for findings at Saffron Walden that support this idea).

Bourdieu (1984; 1986) has presented ideas about the role of culture in creating and maintaining social distinctions, and in particular how cultural resources produced and maintained power and status. The concept of 'cultural capital' (essentially an ability to appropriate either cultural goods or cultural meaning), is useful in showing how distinction between social groups comes about. Thus donation of colonial material demonstrates the donor's cultural capital (gained through travel, for example) and therefore distinguishes them from others who have not had these opportunities. Museums were keen to recruit individuals (as donors, members etc.) deemed as having high cultural capital in order to reinforce exclusive identities and form homogenous, high-cultural capital networks. As noted by Bourdieu (1986: 249), this was mutually beneficial to everyone in the network by increasing their social capital (which was based on the size of the network and volume of cultural and economic capital).

In addition to evoking civic pride, colonial material may have also bolstered pride at a national level; people were proud to be from their local town, but they were also proud to be British. MacDonald (2003: 3) has suggested that at the British Museum, the collection and display of colonial material demonstrated the superiority of Britain through their ability to govern not just on a national, but on an international level. In terms of natural history, Richard Owen (Superintendent of Natural History at the British Museum) thought that it was the British Museum's Imperial duty to display all the available material from its colonies (Yanni 1999: 114; see section 1.2). The same may have been true of the display of this material at the local level. The collection and display of objects and specimens from the colonies reinforced Britain's sense of superiority in terms of their ability to govern, but also in terms of their culture, industry and religion, to name but a few aspects of what we would now term 'civilisation' (Whitehead 2006). The British saw themselves as the protectors or guardians of this material (see section 9.4.1); a task they felt could not be entrusted to 'lesser' civilisations. Although natural history specimens may not directly reflect a foreign culture's perceived level of civilisation (as does much ethnographic material, for instance), the superior learning and scientific understanding required to effectively classify and study it would have given British scientists (and hence British people) a sense of supremacy and level of appreciation that the 'uncivilised' Other could not have reached.

9.2.4 Emulating national museums

The British Museum and the British Museum (Natural History) acquired colonial material from their formation and throughout the nineteenth century, both actively and passively (see section 3.3). It has been suggested that national museums acted as an influential force on the development of provincial museums, often setting trends which provincial museums would emulate (Kavanagh 1990: 14; Sheet-Pyenson 1988: 6-8; see section 3.1). It might therefore be predicted that provincial museums acquired colonial material in a manner that mirrored the national museum. However, the flow of colonial material into the British Museum, which increased over the nineteenth century (see section 3.3; Figure 3.1), was not mirrored by any of the provincial museums examined within this study (Figure 9.2). This does not necessarily mean that provincial museums did not want to follow the British Museum's example, since there were a number of factors such as lack of resources (money and space) that could have inhibited the acquisition of this material. They also had their own concerns and institutional dynamics which often complicated matters (Macdonald 2003: 4; see section 9.1.1). In addition, they did not have the status of the national museums which attracted people to donate material, provincial museums relying on donations made by people from their local area (see section 9.3.1). Furthermore, provincial museums had slightly different aims from those of the British Museum; for example, as well as giving their visitors a universal picture, a number also wanted to portray their local environment. Whitby LPS, for example, were determined to illustrate the rich Liassic fossil deposits of their local geology. No other institution could display the local environment better than one which was located in the area, owing both to their location and therefore accessibility to material, and also because of the local knowledge and expertise which would exist (especially during this era of the field naturalist; see section 1.6).

Although the flow of colonial acquisitions to provincial museums did not follow the flow of national museums, there is evidence that provincial museums looked upon them with respect and for advice, often imitating their procedures. Many curators of provincial museums were in contact with the British Museum, some making regular visits (e.g. see section 6.2.10). Miall, curator of Leeds LPS (1871-1891) tried to emulate Flower's New Museum idea which he employed at the British Museum (Natural History) (Flower 1996 [1st ed. 1898]: 37; see section 8.5). Liverpool Museum used similar methods as the British Museum in order to enhance their colonial collections, such as composing an instruction list on how to collect for those who travelled abroad and presenting equipment to travellers to help them collect specimens (see sections 3.3.4 and 6.2.2). Like the British Museum they also gained colonial material as a result of collecting which occurred on exploratory voyages. This was a result of their strong financial position which allowed them to organise their own expeditions (see

section 6.2.7). It is evident that of all the museums examined, Liverpool Museum in particular, tried to emulate the British Museum (in terms of collections) and in fact saw them as their main rival (see section 6.2.10). I suggest that one of the reasons that Liverpool could do this was because of the access they had (through their port) to foreign collections. The other museums, although trying to emulate the British Museum, realised that this was impossible. For example, in the latter period of the nineteenth century Whitby LPS admitted that they could not compete with the larger museums in terms of foreign collections and therefore decided to concentrate on material from their local area (see section 5.2.4).

9.2.5 Local versus universal collections

At the end of the nineteenth century, provincial museums were subject to the universal versus local debate; should they aim to give the viewer an overall picture of the natural history of the world (which would include the display of rare and exotic specimens), or should they have a complete systematic collection of the local flora and fauna which could act as a reference collection for local collectors? This relates in some ways to the focus on education; it was much more attainable for museums to present a systematic collection of local material than a complete collection of material from across the globe (although arguably a less attractive option as such collections were less interesting to visitors; see section 9.2.2). Elijah Haworth, the President of the Museums Association (also curator of the Sheffield Public Museum, Weston Park) stated at the Hull Conference in 1913 that it was impossible for all museums to display everything:

> It has repeatedly and rightly said that it is futile, or worse than futile – decidedly foolish – to attempt to reproduce the British museum in every town. (Haworth 1913-14: 36)

It was realised that the old idea that museums should obtain and exhibit as many specimens as possible, was not realistic. The number of both recent and extinct species was so great that the exhibition of the whole was impossible.[19] By collecting local material provincial museums could feasibly acquire a complete collection and useful educational tool. However there were also the principles of evolution to consider, which became credible during the second half of the nineteenth century with the publication of Darwin's (1859) theory of evolution by natural selection, and could be represented both through the display of local and foreign specimens.

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[19] An address of the President, G.H. Morton FGS Museums of the Past, The Present, and The Future, particularly those of Liverpool, (1894) Naturalists Field Club for 1893)

There was great support for provincial museums to take the local route, both by museums professionals (Greenwood 1888: 13; Haworth 1913-14) and academics (Greenwood 1888: 33). Murray (1904: 265-269) and Bolton (1897: 389) both advised that museums should concentrate on illustrating the town or district in which they were located, giving a history of the town and an outlook of its flora, fauna, geology and archaeology. This would prevent the loss of interesting objects/specimens of individual districts and allow museums to work together as one network, forming a systematic collection of the natural history of the UK (promoting civic identity and pride as a result). However, this could also result in a standard museology, that is, each museum could end up displaying the same or very similar material. This did in fact happen in the 1980s; provincial museums disposed of their foreign material and concentrated on their local area, displaying local scenes and the animals which inhabited them. This resulted in displays at local museums becoming notoriously repetitive (P. Davis 2005, pers. comm.).

Focusing only on local collections would have been a considerable change for provincial museums. All the museums in this study acquired colonial material, often outwardly looking at an exotic Other rather than inwards to the host society itself, these collections often attracting visitors who marvelled at the rare, exotic and beautiful specimens (see section 9.2.1). However, it is important to note that from the establishment of these museums (possibly excluding Liverpool) local material was included within their desiderata. Whitby LPS for example, were keen to exploit the richness of fossils in the local area (see section 5.1) and the Newcastle NHS showed interest in the geology of the local area, especially in connection to mining (see section 7.3).

What effect did this debate have on provincial museums; did they simply demote the colonial material that was so precious to them? Sheets-Pyenson (1988: 3-23) maintains that this was indeed the case, with the early ideal of displaying the whole world giving way to the display of predominantly local collections at the end of the century.[20] However, Murray (1904: 265-269) reported that most local museums were 'general museums', exhibiting anything and everything and he acknowledges that local museums were often overcrowded, filled with curiosities including foreign material donated by friends of the museum. Even new museums opening late in the nineteenth century, such as the county museum for Buckinghamshire, although embracing the local outlook, did not restrict themselves to only this perspective. It was decided that the museum would have the 'local character predominating' (Flower 1996 [1st ed. 1898]: 55-56) giving them the opportunity to also collect and display material from further afield. Contemporary academics (Naylor 2002: 501;

[20] This happened to some extent during the 1970s as the penchant for local natural history recording took hold (Davis 1996: 179-181).

Alberti 2000: 105-107) have also suggested that it was not simply a case of local collections surmounting foreign collections. Alberti (2000: 105-107) states that the Yorkshire Museum combined the two methods, giving both a local and universal outlook. My work backs up these findings, and yet again, highlights the theme of the individuality of provincial museums which constantly runs through this thesis; the situation in terms of local and universal collections was slightly different at each museum.

It has been noted that provincial museums actively encouraged the acquisition of both local and foreign material on their establishment (see above). The accession of colonial material was actively encouraged (see section 9.1.3), although this encouragement on the whole occurred in the early days of each respective museum and had died off by the end of the century. This suggests that museums may have become more selective about the material which they received. However, in the majority of cases this did not mean that foreign material was removed from the museum; indeed, viewing the quantitative data, donations of colonial material continued to be accepted. In the case of Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS colonial acquisitions were actually at their peak at the end of the century (Figure 9.2).

Only Whitby LPS, Liverpool Museum and Newcastle NHS gave direct evidence of their renewed interest in displaying local material at the end of the nineteenth century, although differing degrees of interest gave rise to differing effects on the acquisition of colonial material. Whitby LPS decided at a quite an early stage (the 1870s) to concentrate on collecting local material, to the detriment of colonial material (see section 5.2.4). Part of their largest colonial collection, African material donated by Beecroft, was actually sold to raise funds, illustrating its lack of importance (see section 5.2.4). The colonial collections of Whitby LPS were mostly curiosities collected and donated by local sailors, which made it difficult to fit them into a systematic collection (see section 9.2.1). It is possible then that the decision to concentrate on local material was made to try and give the Museum greater educational (rather than entertainment) value which could not be achieved with the colonial material which they held. Indeed, Yanni (1999: 94) suggests that having an encyclopaedic display of material from throughout the world created a spectacle, which, as already discussed, some museums wanted to avoid (see section 9.2.1). It should however not be forgotten that the main interest of Whitby LPS was always in geology (Knell 2000: 61-64), which could largely be satisfied by collecting material from the local environment. The decision to decrease the amount of foreign material collected was also in part caused by the realisation that they could not compete with larger museums in this area (see section 5.2.4). This was also the case at the Perthshire Natural History Society (Withers & Forgan 2003: 342).

For the larger museums, such as Liverpool Museum, the quantity and quality of specimens they received from across the globe, allowed them to compete with the British

Museum (see section 6.2.10). Even so, Liverpool Museum also illustrated a change in attitude towards local material at the end of the century. In the final decade when the galleries at Liverpool Museum were being re-displayed it was noted that the collections were lacking in local material. An appeal was made asking people to make a concerted effort to donate local material. During this same period a more substantial space was given over to both British and local natural history specimens (see section 6.2.10). It seems that up until this point local natural history specimens had been neglected in favour of making a global collection. However, despite the appeal, there was no measurable effect on the acquisition of colonial collections. This is possibly owing to the fact that they already had an excellent systematic collection of foreign material which could only be improved through the addition of colonial material. Liverpool Museum was also keen to accept colonial material as it was directly related to local economic interest, which they wanted to emphasise in the museum (Hill 2000: 14-15).

A similar situation occurred at Newcastle NHS. In 1887 a plea was made to members to form natural history collections of the local area (see section 7.5.1). Again, this did not seem to affect the number of colonial acquisitions made by the Society. Along with material collected closer to home, such as John Hancock's British Bird collection, local geological collections and sketches made by a local Newcastle artist, Thomas Bewick (Greenwood 1888: 118-120), they continued to acquire colonial material (the greatest amount of the period). However, the peak in colonial acquisitions occurred in conjunction with the construction and opening of their new building which may have contributed to this rise (see section 7.5.1).

It seems that there was competition between the accession of local and foreign material. I suggest that the collection of local material could raise the educational value of the museum through the display of complete systematic collections (see section 9.2.1). Foreign material however, had the ability to attract viewers into museums (see section 9.2.2). It was especially important for scientific societies to continue to attract viewers as they depended on visitors and society membership as a source of funding, and in addition foreign collections gave museums an advantage over field naturalists, whose knowledge was often limited to local material (Alberti 2000: 105). Consequently, this need to be seen as educational but also to attract visitors might have meant that a combination of both local and foreign material may have been optimal for museums. It does not seem that in any case local collections caused the complete extinction of universal collections, as although there was an emphasis on the local, in the majority of cases colonial material continued to play a part in the provincial museum. In general, those who encouraged museums to take a more local perspective, did not disregarded the collection of foreign material, as long as it was useful for the museum (Greenwood 1888: 154-155). For example, at Leeds LPS, although they specifically requested

that specimens should be 'more especially those of our own Island' as they 'ought first to claim our attention',[21] colonial material continued to be donated (see section 8.3.1).

This section has revealed that on the establishment of provincial museums, collecting policies were non-existent, museums readily accepting almost anything and everything with relish. There was also no geographical criterion limiting the acquisition of objects/specimens. Although some museums inherited collections on their formation, there was no clear evidence that this influenced later acquisitions. The only museum which had some form of collection policy was Newcastle NHS, but even this was limited to birds, the Society drawing up a list of ornithological desiderata (see section 7.3.1). It seems that in addition to the curator and committee members, the content of the museum was also driven by the donor, the museum accepting whatever they donated. However, as the century progressed, there did seem to be subtle developments in collection management. People began to consider what roles museums should play in society and how they could achieve these roles through the acquisition of certain types of material (e.g. Greenwood 1888). It was necessary for provincial museums to think more clearly about the material they should accept as they simply did not have the resources to (or the justification) to collate varied but incomplete collections. The local versus national debate did induce some museums to concentrate on local material. However, the majority, although making greater effort to acquire local material, continued to accession colonial material.

9.3 Colonial collectors and donors

9.3.1 Colonial collectors and donors identified

A literature survey (see section 1.8) revealed that during the nineteenth century, colonial collections were made by both professional (for example, Ralph 1993; Stearn 1968; Branagan 1993) and amateur collectors (for example, Davis 1989; Lloyd 1985: 75-90; McMillan 1996). Many amateur collectors were living or travelling in the colonies as a result of their jobs (see sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.2) as army members (see section 1.8.2), military surgeons (see section 1.8.3) and missionaries (see section 1.8.4), and used this opportunity to make their collections. Although these people are acknowledged as collectors of colonial material, personal accounts of amateur collectors are rare (McMillan 1996: 125), especially from those who donated to provincial rather than national museums. Those for whom information is available do tend to share common factors in terms of gender and status, the majority are

[21] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1840-41

males of high standing both socially and in their area of work (see section 1.8). This is confirmed through the examination of the collectors and donors of colonial material to the provincial museums in this study. However, additional information on the demographics of collectors and donors has also been identified.

Amateur collectors were the dominant donors of colonial collections to provincial museums. McMillan's (1996: 125) suspicion that they are under-represented in the literature is therefore confirmed. The categories of employment suggested above (army members, sailors, military surgeons and missionaries), were all represented by the amateurs who donated to the provincial museums in this study. An additional category of people who often lack biographical accounts are sailors. The examples of sailors are endless (especially for the port museums; see chapters 5, 6 & 7). Sailors were seen as a valuable source of colonial material by museums located on ports, for example, Liverpool Museum believed that their donations could aid the formation of complete collections in every department.[22] In the case of Whitby LPS, ship captains made up a large majority of colonial donors (see section 5.2.1). Missionaries and military surgeons tended to be less represented, probably because lower numbers of people were engaged in these occupations; although given their small numbers, their contributions to museums often seem disproportionately numerous, perhaps because they had a particular interest in collecting. Military surgeons, for example, had backgrounds (social, educational and professional) which offered the resources and skills necessary for collecting (see section 1.8.3). Missionaries often collected ethnographic material as souvenirs and trophies of their success and also were known to have an interest in natural history because of the belief that this material was created by God (see section 1.8.4). This was often reflected in the collections they donated. However, this study has revealed that colonial material was not only collected by people with these specific occupations; there was a wide range of employment available in the colonies, epitomised by the people who donated colonial material to museums. They included surveyors of salt tax (for example Mr R.H. Adams; see section 6.2.9), civil engineers (for example Edwin Brooks; see appendix 2), miners (Mr John Greenwood; see section 6.2.9) and police (Mr Pimock; see section 6.2.9). The high status of these collectors is clear by the occupations they held, and when looking in detail at these occupations it becomes even clearer. Army members, for example, who donated to provincial museums, were predominantly of a high rank (for example captains). This confirms Nelson's (1998: 169) comment that it was the senior military officers who made collections, few of the soldiers or free civilians taking an interest in natural history. Similarly in terms of sailors, it is the captains of ships who donated material. It is likely that their high rank provided them with greater opportunities and resources to make their

[22] Proceedings of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society during the 51st session (1861-62) 16: 51.

collections. Murray (1904: 246) for example, stated that collecting cannot be expected of a 'shipmaster', but the 'commanders of vessels ... have many opportunities of obtaining objects'. Unfortunately, museums did not record the occupations of all the people who made donations and although great effort was taken to track down the occupations of donors, this was not always possible.[23] Those whose occupations were obvious owing to the associated titles which they were given (Lieutenant or Dr. for example) were easily noted. In some cases other clues such as an army regiment or the name of a ship were also recorded. This however may account for the bias, for example, high ranking members of the army donating material, which occurred.

Virtually all donors were from or had close connections with someone in the locality of the museum to which they donated. Local people were keen to contribute to the success of their museum (although their motives could be questioned, see section 9.3.2) and donors from further afield were either explicitly contacted by people from the society, requesting a donation (for example at the Saffron Walden NHS; see section 4.2.1), or would benefit (usually financially) by making a donation (for example, John Gould; see below). As a result, the principle means of employment in the town may have influenced the collections received by museums, contributing to their uniqueness. Sea captains, for example, have been noted for making a characteristic type of donation – single objects, usually collected for their curiosity value - whereas army officers made more complete, systematic collections (see section 7.5.1). This supports the earlier claim of the individuality of provincial museums (see section 9.1.1). There are very few examples of female donors and even fewer examples of female collectors.[24] Evidence suggests that in a number of cases donations made by females were actually collected by a male family member and donated by a female relative on their death (see for example the collection of John Beecroft; see section 5.2.3). This gender bias may well have affected the type of material the museum received (for example Cheang 2001; Levell 2001c); the collection of ferns and plants, for instance, was especially associated with ladies (Allen 1969: 19 & 49).

Although some of these museums were quite small, especially compared to the nationals, they still managed to attract donations from well-known naturalists of the era such as John Gould (Newcastle NHS, see section 7.2.1; Saffron Walden NHS, see section 4.2.1), Canon Henry Baker Tristram (Liverpool Museum, see section 6.2.4), W.H. Benson (Leeds LPS, see section 8.4.2) and P.J. Selby (Newcastle NHS, see section 7.2.1). Again the motives of these people could be questioned; John Gould's donations were clearly not a selfless act

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[23] This problem of 'losing' socially lower people in history is a common one experienced by many historians; see for example Fan (2004: 5).
[24] This was also found by Knell (2001: 90) in the case of donors of geological material to philosophical societies.

(see section 7.2.1). It was beneficial for naturalists to be part of this provincial network, as the wealth of specimens which provincial museums contained proved useful to naturalists in their studies (see section 6.2.4). English provincial museums were part of a larger network of museums located throughout the world, many of which proved an important source of colonial material (e.g. see sections 6.2.4 & 7.5.1). The second half of the century saw an increase in material donated by museums located in the colonies, which coincided with the establishment of a number of museums in the British colonies (see Sheets Pyenson 1988 for specific examples). Exchanges often occurred allowing both institutions to benefit.

Not all those who donated colonial material actually went to the colonies and collected the material themselves. Unfortunately in these cases it is often hard to trace where these collections came from. The important point to note however is that this indirect route of acquiring colonial material was a very important one for the provincial museum. This category of people included local worthies (e.g. mayors, councillors, businessmen, medics, gentlemen and noblemen), who were often also high-positioned society members, confirming recent research that it was the civic elite and middle class who controlled provincial museums (Alberti 2002: 310; Hill 2005: 53-68). However, it needs to be acknowledged that there could be a flaw to this finding. As with the high-ranking individuals of the army, local worthies were much easier to spot in accession lists and more information was available for them in general.

It is possible that these 'indirect colonial donors' obtained colonial material through purchase, for example from dealers (as they had the financial means to do so), or were given this material by friends and family who had travelled to the colonies. Evidence for the latter has been found in a number of cases, including William Gott and Joseph Holt (see section 8.4.2). That these people went to the trouble of procuring and donating this material, even though they had never travelled to the countries from which these objects came themselves, indicates that this material was either highly sought after by the Society (see section 9.2) or there was some possible benefit to the donor (see section 9.3.2).

For the more financially secure museums (such as Liverpool Museum) other indirect sources, such as natural history dealers, were used to acquire colonial material. This source was very useful as it allowed them to acquire individual specimens which may have been needed to complete a taxonomic series; a necessity that a common donor could not always be relied on to fill. Another important source which was utilised by both financially secure and insecure museums was the menagerie and zoological garden (e.g. see sections 4.2.1 and 6.2.5). The aim of the menagerie and (to a lesser extent) the zoological garden was to entertain the public, a job which rare and exotic specimens from the colonies did well. On the death of these animals they were often donated to provincial museums. This was an important source for some museums, especially in terms of larger, mammalian material. The menagerie

as a source of specimens for museums, however, has been largely overlooked (see section 10.4.2).

9.3.2 Donating colonial material: an act of philanthropy?

Philanthropic acts played an important role in shaping the development and form of provincial museums (Greenwood 1888: 153-172). Individuals often contributed large sums of money for the construction of museum buildings; William Brown's large donation, for example, allowed the construction of Liverpool Museum (see section 6.1.1) and similarly, the museum of Newcastle NHS at Barras Bridge was funded by generous donations from the local community, including a particularly large sum from Lord Armstrong (see section 7.5.1). Through the implementation of these acts, people were illustrating their devotion to increase the well-being of humankind. Society museums in particular, which have already been noted for their unstable development (see section 9.1.1), often relied on individual acts of philanthropy to alleviate financial difficulties. For instance, George Stacey Gibson provided relief for Saffron Walden NHS through financial aid (see section 4.2.3). In addition to direct financial aid, other philanthropic acts included the donation of collections (and money to purchase collections) to these institutions. Collections, including colonial collections, which often took a large amount of time, effort and money to assemble, were seemingly unselfishly donated to museums. Some collections were bequeathed on death, such as the Earl of Derby's collection to Liverpool Museum (see section 6.1.1) or Julia Boyd's ethnographic collection to Newcastle NHS (see section 7.5.2), and some donated whilst the donor was still alive, for example, Joseph Mayer's collection of objects illustrating the arts and manufactures of various nations to Liverpool Museum (see section 6.2.8) and Charles Adamson's collection of Burmese and Indian lepidoptera to Newcastle NHS (see appendix 1). In addition to donating collections, money was often donated to purchase collections, such as the collection of South African wildlife collected by Robert Dunn which was purchased by Saffron Walden NHS owing to monetary donations made by members (see section 4.2.1). Museums relied on people's generosity as they often did not have adequate financial resources to collate collections themselves, although I suggest that this generosity was rarely a selfless act.

Early historians tended to assume that philanthropic acts were selfless deeds, carried out without any sense of compulsion or expectation of reciprocation (e.g. Kirkman Gray 1905: vi-ix), but recent evidence suggests that this was not actually the case (e.g. Moore 2004). Financial donations, for instance, were often given in order to emphasise or improve the donor's cultural and social status and reputation, rather than for any public need. Evidence has been presented which proposes that Andrew Barclay Walker, who provided the full funds

for the construction of Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, did so to advance his personal status and achieve political goals (Moore 2004). I suggest that this may have also been the case for the apparently philanthropic act of donating collections to museums, especially colonial collections. The donation of colonial material could appear as a true act of philanthropy on behalf of the donor, however, donors clearly had different motives and agendas for donating this material (Hill 2005: 57-58).[25] Coombes (1994: 132), states that donating ethnographic material to a museum was mutually advantageous, enhancing the donor's standing as an amateur ethnographers (illustrating culture and human capital), and enhancing the museum's collection. Collections and rare objects were often traded by kings and rulers for political favours and to create alliances (Lagueux 2003; Blunt 1976: 189; see section 1.8).

There are also other obvious advantages for the donor; the museum functioned as a safe house for their collection, a place where it would be cared for, out-survive its donor and possibly be displayed. Some donations were even made on the condition that they would be cared for in a certain way (for example Adamson's collection of Lepidoptera; see appendix 1). In a minority of cases, donors gained financially. John Gould's donation of colonial material to Newcastle NHS was most definitely not a true philanthropic act. Owing to the outstanding nature of his donation, he used it to barter. He offered to donate 100 specimens of Australian ornithology to the Society but only if they guaranteed to subscribe to his new publication, *The Birds of Australia* (Davis 1983: 12-13; see section 7.3.1). As it was quite rare for a provincial museum to be offered such a large collection of foreign material, they were keen to reciprocate. Naturalists were also eager to maintain good relationships with museums as the material they contained was an important resource for their research. They could do this by offering specimens (see section 6.2.4). I have already established that museums were keen to incorporate colonial material as it fulfilled a number of roles (see section 9.2).

Owing to the way this material was viewed, often catching the eye of the viewer and attracting them to the museum, it is possible that the donation of this material could have been used as a vehicle by the donor to gain advantage. The greater the rarity of the donation, a character often associated with foreign/colonial material, the more publicity the donor would receive. It has been revealed that colonial donations were often specifically mentioned within annual reports and committee minutes (e.g. see section 5.2.1). Colonial donations were also often awarded with honorary membership to societies (e.g. see section 5.2.1; 6.2.2; 7.6), which brought with it a number of benefits. The list of honorary members included exceptional people, both in terms of scientific endeavour and social status; therefore inclusion no doubt helped to increase ones standing in society (see the discussion on cultural and social capital in section 9.2.3).

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[25] For a discussion of the benefits gained by those donating geological material to provincial philosophical societies see Knell (2000: 115-134).

Since the high Renaissance, collections have always been emblems of cultural and social status (e.g. Findlen 1994; Impey & MacGregor 2001). Collections can reveal a lot about their owner, for example their wealth and knowledge. I suggest that this continued to be the case in collections displayed in nineteenth century provincial museums. Foreign collections in particular could act as symbols of cultural status, for example collections brought back from foreign lands acted as pieces of tangible evidence of the places which the traveller had visited. Objects were displayed in the museum with the minimum amount of information, although this often included the name of the donor, so people were aware who donated each object/specimen on display. This meant that although the donor had given his possession to the Society, therefore losing its ownership, his attachment to it was never really lost. Colonial material was often displayed in a prominent position possibly owing to its rarity and spectacular nature (see section 9.2.2). The cultural status of the donor would therefore be highly visible to the majority who visited the museum. If it was the donors' intention to donate material in order to show off his status, the museum was a good place to do so as it was the middle class of the town who populated and controlled these institutions (Alberti 2002: 310; Hill 2005: 53-68).

Habermas (1989) suggests that from the late eighteenth century there was the development of a new arena of public life (including theatres, museums, opera houses, coffee houses, etc.) and the growth of a new infrastructure for social communication (the press, publishing houses, libraries), which catalysed the emergence of a 'public sphere' in which 'the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion'. This led to increased social intercourse (and competition) between the new cultured middle class. However, Habermas's concept of a public sphere has been criticised for its neutrality; not only was it used as a tool for discussion and debate but was closely tied up with the development of middle-class identities and the consolidation of their urban power (for a critique of Hobermas's concept of public sphere see Eley 1994). My findings and other recent research (e.g. Hill 2005: 146-149) confirm this by revealing that nineteenth-century provincial museums were used by the middle class to display and define their identities, the collections they donated obviously defining their cultural status and hence forming part of this identity.

English provincial society during the nineteenth century was deeply divided by a dynamic power struggle between different political, religion and intellectual factors, each vying for position in a period that frowned on open conflict (e.g. Black & Macralid 2003). Acts of philanthropy, including the donation of collections to museums, may therefore have been used as a way to increase the donor's standing in others' eyes. It has been acknowledged that there was a competitive element to philanthropy (Moore 2004: 68 & 71), people attempting to outdo each other through philanthropic acts. This can quite easily be applied to donations, especially colonial donations made to museums, the museum possibly being used

to stage this competitive element. Many colonial donations were made by people who were well-known and high-standing within the community and also the museum (despite the fact that they had not travelled to the areas from which their donations came; see sections 8.3.2 & 9.3.1). Many of these people were also known for carrying out philanthropic acts to benefit their local town. The donation of colonial material by these people, especially those who had not travelled to the colonies, could have been used as a way to outbid someone else's donation, and therefore confirm their superiority. It is possible that this competition was heightened owing to the close relations of society members, many mixing in the same social and business circles, and in some cases, family circles (see section 8.3.2). In addition, those on the committee who did *not* make a similar donation may have been noted and discredited.

At Leeds LPS, a gift was given each year by the Mayor of Leeds. I hypothesise that this was an opportunity for the Mayor to confirm or even advance his personal status. These donations were often characterised by elaborate specimens/objects of colonial material. For example, in 1867 the Mayor donated a giraffe (see section 8.4.2). It could be argued that these donations and other philanthropic acts were the direct result of guilt, or a sense of obligation, brought about by the possession of surplus capital; referred to as the 'obligation of capital', which was an important concept in Victorian society (Ostrower 1995). Rich men regarded it as their duty to endow their place of birth (Greenwood 1888: 153-172). However, a comment which appeared in the *Leeds Monthly* in 1829 refutes this, giving further evidence that members were donating material to the museum to show off (see section 8.6):

> we will not meddle so far as to praise its Museum, because we believe it to have been formed far more from motives of vanity than from a real love of science. (Clark 1924: 18)

The sea captains who donated material to Whitby LPS may have done so to benefit themselves. The committee of the Society included ship-owners, a group of people who, as potential employers, sea captains would have been keen to impress (see section 5.4). Donations provided the donor with a sense of power and superiority over the receiver (who would be placed in an embarrassing situation if the donation was refused), who in turn felt indebted to the donor (see work on gifting and the gift economy; Mauss 1989); again suggesting that making donations was not purely philanthropic. Mauss (1989: 56-68 & 73-83) has emphasised the importance of gift giving to form bonds and social alliances. In a period where self improvement and the upward mobility of class were common aspirations (there have been suggestions that scientific societies were used as a vehicle to move classes; see Inkster & Morrell 1983, Knell 2000: 79), donations made to museums, especially colonial, may well have played a small role. It is difficult to give direct evidence for the selfish use of

these seemingly philanthropic acts as these acts had to be perceived as 'disinterested acts aimed at the public good' (Moore 2004: 70), since any show of self-interest would undermine it. However, this section has raised the issue that the donation of colonial material may not have been entirely selfless, giving donors the possibility of multiple benefits.

9.3.3 Modes of collecting

Pearce (1992: 68-88) has succinctly divided collecting into three basic modalities, each with differing characteristics; souvenir, fetishtic and systematic collecting. The souvenir to Pearce is an object associated with personal experience. These objects can evoke the past (a place, a person or an event) and project it into the future, allowing a person to understand their personal history and show this to others. Fetishtic collectors remove objects and detach them from their original context to give them a new definition in terms of self. This obsessive and possessive act of collecting often has no intellectual rationale to explain the choice and organisation of objects. The systematic mode has an emphasis on classification with the collection portraying an idea or theory from which others can learn. An intellectual rationale is followed to assemble this collection type which is based on principles of organisation, the ultimate aim of which is to gain a complete set which can be used for educational purposes.

Although these three collecting modes are distinct, collectors and collections can show elements of more than one mode at any one time or during successive phases of activity. This has been confirmed by a number of collectors in this study. For example, whilst working abroad for the British Army in India and Burma, Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (1846-1930) took the opportunity to make a large entomological collection (predominantly consisting of lepidoptera) which he donated to the Newcastle NHS (see appendix 1). Adamson was a systematic collector; he aimed to have a complete collection which contained all the Lepidoptera of Burma, specifically collecting throughout the country to do so. On collection, the specimens were organised taxonomically. Despite the very formal, systematic nature of Adamson's collection, features of his collecting style can be interpreted as fetishistic. He had a great passion and desire for collecting which can be seen in terms of the sheer quantity of specimens he collated. The amount of time he spent collecting also illustrates his obsessive nature. Collecting was obviously an important part of Adamson's life. No matter what time of day, month or year, no matter where in Burma he was located, Adamson collected. In part, Adamson's collecting was driven by his need for the possession of objects. His diary entries give an impression of an obsession for his collecting habit, constantly viewing his specimens, distressed when he no longer had them in his possession.

Pearce's three modes can all be identified by examining the collecting habits of those who collected in the colonies, although, I suggest that collecting is not restricted to only these three modes. For example, Robert Dunn, who provided the Saffron Walden NHS with one of their largest natural history collections, demonstrates a mode of collecting which does not clearly correspond to those described by Pearce (see section 4.2.1) as he would probably not have made this collection without a financial incentive. He was commissioned by his brother Hannibal Dunn, one of the founder members of the Saffron Walden NHS, to make a collection of natural history of the area in which he lived and to send it back to the Society. Robert Dunn agreed to this task and assembled together a number of people to go out on a hunting expedition to gather a collection for the Society. The collection made was not systematic, but consisted of almost any zoological and botanical material which the group could find and collect. His motivation for making this collection was purely financial; he subsequently billed the Society for a total of £492.6.2½d (a substantial sum). This financial motivation is not covered by any of Pearce's modes and I suggest that financial collecting, as illustrated through the example of Robert Dunn, should be considered as a mode of collecting.

9.4 Colonial collections and attitudes towards Empire

9.4.1 The dominance of the coloniser

Colonialism and imperialism have been defined in many different ways (e.g. Loomba 1998: 2 & 6; Hall 2000:5; see section 1.3). A predominant theme is its disruptive nature to the colonised society, resulting in an economic, cultural and social hierarchy. Authors such as Said (1978) and Fanon (1967a) have referred to a binary logic which was used to portray the colonised, or the Other, as subordinate (see section 1.3.1). The Other was referred to in terms of 'darkness', 'savagery' and 'partiality', quite the opposite of the Western coloniser, who was described as bringing 'light', 'culture' and 'substantiality'. These differences had to be maintained as part of conflicts of power, allowing Europeans to be superior and to legitimise their colonial actions (Cooper & Stoler 1997: 3-4 & 7). The collection of material from the Other and its display within the museum was used to construct cultural differences and reinforce racial hierarchy (Pearce 1995: 308-351; Coombes 1994: 109-160; see section 1.3.1). For example, Mitter (1997: 223) suggests that the evolution and display of the Indian collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly the South Kensington Museum), London, can demonstrate European superiority and the Imperial ideology. Products of Indian industry such as textiles, metal and wood (used for the teaching of design), which had been

untouched by modern technology, were displayed, giving the image of the English as protectors of this authentic material (for further examples, consult Mitter 1997).

All the provincial museums in this study held material collected from the colonies under the circumstances of colonialism. The holding of this material by these museums confirmed Britain's position as an imperial power, for example, the ethnographic and natural history specimens collected from the colonies could be viewed as trophies expressing the control and domination of the British (Black 2000: 16). It has been suggested that in addition, museums actually legitimised colonialism through the way ethnographic material was classified and displayed, emphasising the colonial Other as savage, threatening and exotic, and therefore, the superiority of the British (see Coombes 1994: 109-160; Levell 2001a: 193-196; van Keuren 1989: 32-36). Although the way in which ethnographic material was displayed was not the focus of this thesis, the way in which this material was described by museums, for example, weapons from 'savage nations'[26] and natural history specimens captured in the colonies as 'trophies'[27] (see sections 6.2.3 and 8.4.1) supports this idea of Western supremacy. Collating knowledge about the colonies was seen as an important factor in controlling the British Empire (Richards 1993). By acquiring collections from the colonies, museums were taking part in this controlling process, again supporting the idea of Western superiority.

Museums did not seem concerned about the side effects of colonialism, such as the destruction of other cultures. Leeds LPS, for example, justified the collection of ethnographic material by noting that in a few years these cultures would be extinct. They felt it was important that historians would have the resources to study these cultures in future years. They showed no signs of regret that this extinction would occur (see section 8.6):

> The value of such relics, in an historical point of view, and their fitness for deposit in a Museum, is becoming daily more evident, - illustrating, as they do, the manners and customs of a people who are fast disappearing before the advances of civilisation, and whose moral and social condition have undergone so great a change during the last fifty years, that their *Native* weapons have, to a considerable extent, been laid aside, as well as their manufactures discontinued for those of *European* construction: hence, when a few generations shall be passed away, *they*, and their various articles of savage life, will become the subjects of *tradition;* the land which gave them birth will know them no longer.[28]

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[26] Minutes of the Library and Museums Committee, 12th November 1857 (352 MIN/LIB 1/3).
[27] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1858-59
[28] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47

The Leeds LPS show their dominant coloniser attitude's by referring to colonial people as 'savage' and by comparing them to other cultures such as Ancient Egyptians, whose culture was deemed as particularly advanced. Museums legitimised the collection of cultural objects, claiming that the colonised did not pass them down to anyone for posterity in the same way the Ancient Egyptians did (see section 8.6):

> and, unlike the inhabitants of Ancient Egypt, Mexico, or Hindostan, whose paintings and sculptures have handed down their deeds to posterity, these will leave no memorial of their existence, save such trophies as may have found lodgement in the Museums of Public Institutions; and they will then become the only oracles, to guide the pen of future historians, when describing the once warlike or domestic habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of our Colonial possessions. Viewing, therefore, such native productions in an Ethnological point of view, the Council would be glad to see the Museum become the depository of similar articles from distant lands.[29]

This tack was also used by Liverpool Museum to validate the collection of ethnographic material, as well as by academic anthropologists to legitimise their subjects' existence (Coombes 1994: 140).

Although I did not focus on the display of ethnographic material, it is interesting to note that there were no in-depth discussions about this subject within the society minute books consulted. Jones (2001: 338) reports that although Ipswich Museum managed to acquire ethnographic material, it was given very little attention and was in no way used to legitimise colonialism. This also can be applied to some of the provincial museums in this study. Jones (*ibid.*) explains that this material was neglected owing to the fact that, like today, museums wanted to avoid controversy which may have been impossible if the circumstances under which this material was collected were revealed. However, this conclusion is questionable; as with the Leeds example above, we can see that the museums were not concerned about the circumstances under which this material was collected. Even if they were, the way which this material was displayed did not need to address the controversial circumstance under which it was collected. I suggest that a more plausible reason for its neglect was a general lack of interest in this material in comparison to natural history which was the core interest of both the members of the societies and the museum curators (with the possible exception of Liverpool following the donation of the Mayer collection). Curators may have also found the display of this material difficult to justify in an educational sense. Ethnographic material was often associated with curiosities, something museums desperately

[29] Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1846-47

wanted to avoid, especially at the end of the century when the display of curiosities was highly criticised (see section 9.2.1).

9.4.2 The separation of the colonised and the coloniser

The display of ethnographic material has been looked at in terms of representing attitudes towards the colonial Other (e.g. Coombes 1994: 109-160), but there has been little research on the role of natural history material. It is evident that natural history material was categorised according to its origin; for example, whether it was British or foreign. At Saffron Walden NHS foreign material (a large majority of which was colonial) was displayed separately from the British and local material. The trustees complained about the lack of space because it meant that the general collections and the British collections had to be exhibited together when they wanted to keep the two types of collection distinct (see section 4.3). Despite their desire to display material systematically, this was compromised in order to display foreign and colonial material separately. Similarly, Naylor (2002: 501) noted that Penzance Natural History Society made sure the two could be distinguished through a colour coding system. This separation could possibly be related to the distinction made between the coloniser and the Other, such as the binary relationships between the two (see section 1.3.1; 9.4.1). Racial prestige was an important element of colonialism, and with the rising discourse of scientific racism and a great distinction between the coloniser and the colonised, the mixing of the two was highly discouraged. Colonial miscegenation was a boundary which should not be crossed (Frank 1969: 365). For example, although in India unions between British men within the dominant group and either Indian or Anglo-Indian women was officially discouraged, hybrid populations in India, as elsewhere in the colonial world, came to be regarded as a danger to the European community. There was a fear that this would lead to the corruption of the Westerner (Stoler 1989: 147). Coombes (1994: 90-91) points out that miscegenation was a concern at colonial and international exhibitions as they put Europeans (and especially women) in close contact with the colonial people employed as exhibits, 're-enacting' events or 'simulating' their village lives. It is possible that these attitudes were relayed through the display of natural history material.

Like ethnographic and archaeology objects, the separation of British and foreign objects allowed one to be compared to the latter (Murray 1904: 234). In terms of the geographical separation of ethnography, this was said to:

> reinforce the idea that specific races and cultures had evolved at different rates due to biological and environmental factors. (Levell 2001a: 194-195)

Although this was not the case in natural history, this separation would have definitely highlighted the differences between the landscapes of Great Britain and the colonies. The visitor to the museum would view the latter as exotic and different, a common image of these far-away lands, and through this re-created landscape may have been transported to exotic colonial environments (see section 9.2.2).

9.5 Colonial material in provincial museums today

This research has clearly shown that the acquisition of colonial material played a key role in the development of English museums during the nineteenth century (see section 9.2). Indeed, it continues to do so today. The strong presence of colonial material in museums remains, the UK standing out as one of the principal holders of material from across the globe (see section 1.2). This material is often involved in some of the most contentious and difficult areas of museum management in the twenty-first century and in a number of cases this has led to the re-examination of museological practices (e.g. Simpson 2001).

9.5.1 The repatriation of colonial material (cultural and natural)

The circumstances under which colonial material was collected during the nineteenth century is often deemed unacceptable today (e.g Jones 1993: 214) and has left many emerging national and indigenous peoples calling for their cultural treasures and ancestral remains to be removed from public display, some demanding their return. Repatriation of objects collected during this period has become a political tool reminding Britain of their colonial past and questionable ethics and actions. There is currently an ethical battle which questions who actually owns pieces of cultural material, many museums refusing access to this material and not considering requests made for its return (e.g. Greenfield 1996). In terms of the material covered in this thesis, indigenous groups such as Aborigines have been central to this debate. The Australian Government Office of Indigenous Policy Coordination has a repatriation programme to facilitate the return of Indigenous cultural property (including human remains) held in overseas collections to their communities of origin. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission have provided funds for the Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action to help locate and document ancestral remains, both in Australia and elsewhere (Hanchant 2002).

Although it is normally the national museums that are headlined for the repatriation of foreign cultural property (for examples see Greenfield 1996), as provincial museums are also holders of this material they may also be subject to repatriation claims. For example, Saffron Walden Museum has been subject to a repatriation request (J. Bazley 2004, pers. comm.). A report by Simpson (1997), which focussed on repatriation at the level of provincial museums, found that ten per cent of the museums surveyed had received requests or enquiries regarding the repatriation of objects from their collections. This clearly demonstrates that repatriation is not only an issue for national museums and therefore it is imperative that provincial museums react and prepare for this eventuality.

The return of human remains is a particular topical issue. Although my research did not identify a large number of human remains acquired by provincial museums, Newcastle NHS did acquire a Maori tattooed head (see section 7.3.1). Recent developments concerning museums and human remains include the passing of the Human Tissue Act (2004), of which Section 47 states that nine named national museums (including The Board of Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside) can de-accession human remains under 1000 years old. The Department for Culture Media and Sport working group on human remains have drawn up a draft code of practice on the care of human remains (and associated objects) which advises museums how to deal with this issue, and the Museums Association code of practice includes advice on how to handle repatriation requests. Although these are optional, not statutory, it is hoped that they will help museums to build sound policies on these topical issues.

Current repatriation requests surround cultural property, although there have been suggestions that natural history material may soon follow (Haas 1992: 71-81; Davis 1996: 134-137). This issue was raised at the International Symposium and First World Congress on the Preservation and Conservation of Natural History Collections held in Madrid in 1992. Hass (1992: 71-81) has argued that repatriation is indeed a substantive issue for biological specimens. He suggests that the increase in regulations and restrictions on the movement of natural material between countries and states, accompanied by a rise in conservation measures which now limit the collection of natural material, may well culminate in the request for the repatriation of natural specimens. He gives two main reasons for their repatriation: the rise in repatriation claims of cultural objects and the growing awareness by society of the significance and scarcity of natural history specimens. As animals and plants become extinct (biodiversity loss; see below), people will want type specimens to be kept in their land of origin. At the same conference, Mares (1992: 367) also raised the issue of the repatriation of natural history specimens, but he took a different slant, discussing the advantages it would bring to museums in the developing worlds. If museums in the developing world had specimens returned to them, the museums who returned them (those in the developing world)

would be much more concerned about the development of these museums (they would not want to see the specimens coming to any harm), possibly offering help and advice.

Davis (1996: 134-137) discusses the role of museums in terms of solving biodiversity problems, an issue which could have a knock-on effect on repatriation. In this age, loss of species fuelled by human activities and its prevention (biodiversity conservation) is of prime importance. It has been argued that high biodiversity is essential to allow ecosystems to recover from human and natural disasters, to increase agricultural productivity, and the discovery of new medicines (this is no way an exhaustive list of the utilitarian reasons, there are also many philosophical reasons too). One of the most high profile political responses to environmental concerns, including biodiversity, was the Earth Summit (UN Conference on Environment and Development) held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. The summit was held to discuss the future of the earth, with treaties on biodiversity, climate change and Agenda 21 (a declaration of principles for the pursuit of sustainable development which would address the problems of the twenty-first century) high on the agenda. The adoption of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) by a number of world governments was one of the outcomes of the Summit, and established three main goals, one of which was the conservation of biological diversity (Grubb *et al.* 1993) a goal that museum can assist in achieving (Davis 1996: 134-145).

As has been illustrated throughout this research, since their foundation, biological diversity has been the focus of museums. One of the original aims of provincial museums was to collect examples of every species on earth. Throughout the nineteenth century they assembled large collections of natural history from around the globe, and the remnants of these collections in today's museums contain important information about biodiversity; for instance, some of these specimens may be the only evidence left of now extinct species. One possible problem which stands in the way of the study of these collections is their scattered nature. When studying biodiversity it makes more sense for all specimens from one region to be held together (especially if the curation of the collections is not up to standard), possibly in their country of origin. For this reason repatriation of specimens may be necessary (*ibid.*: 137).

A preliminary study carried out in 2003, in which I contacted a number of museums in the UK (both national and provincial) about the topic of natural history repatriation, revealed that the increase in the repatriation of natural history suggested above has not yet occurred. Only two out of 37 museums had received a repatriation request and one of these was only a general enquiry. However, although not having been subjected to repatriation requests, museums today are aware that there is a possibility that this may happen, a number have at least discussed the issue; the Grant Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy

(University College London) actually drafting a policy on how to deal with such an event (Dr Helen Chatterjee 2003, pers. comm.).

9.5.2 The display of colonial material

The display of colonial material in museums today has brought with it much discussion. Lowenthal (1993: 20) has questioned:

> if the role of a museum is to remember, what kind of past should it remember? Should it remember everything? Are some memories best forgotten?

Colonial material gives museums a great opportunity to revisit nineteenth-century colonialism and the colonial context under which this material was collected, addressing awkward issues, such as racist attitudes and European superiority, associated with colonialism. Clifford (1999: 438) has described museums as contact zones. This notion allows the museums to be seen as a space of intercultural encounter between colonised and coloniser; a site where both the ownership of material culture and the values and meaning constructed through it are negotiated and contested. However, colonial material today is ostensibly displayed in an objective and neutral manner; museums often ignore the political and economic context in which the objects were collected (see for example Tawadros 1990; Berlo & Phillips 1992). Pierson Jones (1992: 221-241) highlights that artefacts are usually described via their indigenous cultural context but their other cultural context, that is their collection history and museum identity, which could place British colonial history on the agenda, is ignored. The colonial nature of natural history material is also hidden as it is usually exhibited within taxonomic displays or dioramas, marking its relationship with other species rather than its place of origin (see section 1.2). Hall (1996: 66) suggests that the European imperial past is remembered through the 'mists of nostalgia' and that although traces of imperial histories are everywhere (including museums) they are left unexplored, as is the case in museums.

Museums have been described as legitimisers of imperial exploitation (Durrans 1988: 144-169) and reconstructions of the history of collections may reveal 'painful stories of greed, theft, racism, and exploitation' by both scholars and institutions which they would rather forget (Jones 1993: 214). O'Neill (2004: 190) highlights the inadequacy of the display and use of colonial material collected under the circumstances of Empire, stating that the display of this material is as 'likely to confirm prejudice as to promote tolerance'. He feels that the displays at the British Museum emphasise differences between cultures rather than interactions, the power relations under which they were collected not being questioned and

their imperial history ignored. This is a wasted opportunity to use this material to help people to respect and understand other cultures in a time when there is hostility across the globe (O'Neil 2004: 199-201). Not all museums have shied away from the approach of using material collected in the colonial context to tackle the issues associated with colonialism. For example, 'Into the Heart of Africa', an exhibition held at the Royal Ontario Museum Toronto, aimed to give a critical examination of the Canadian missionary and military experience in Africa. However, the interpretation of this exhibition brought with it much controversy, with people actively picketing and shouting outside the museum, forcing the curator to resign from her university teaching post in part because of a number of accusations that she was racist (Hutcheon 1994: 208). Hutcheon (1994: 208-229) suggests that it was the use of irony in 'Into the Heart of Africa' that caused this controversy. The problem was the inconsistent use of irony, which was confusing and functioned to distance the visitors from the content of the exhibition. Although the curator aimed to give a self-reflexive critique of colonial collecting practices of the museum, the subtle irony was lost on many and the exhibit unintentionally reinforced the point of view of the original curators and collectors (the superiority of the white male over the Other) and infuriated many visitors of both Western and African descent. Other projects have received similar reactions with some openly described as racist (Mehmood 1990: 27-30; for a number of examples see Jones 1993: 204-213).

In 2002, The British Empire & Commonwealth Museum in Bristol was opened; it is the only Museum in Britain which commemorates the British Empire. Even before it was opened, there was much controversy as to whether such a museum should exist (Campbell Dixon 2002: 27). However, since opening, although receiving some negative comments, overall it has had a positive response. The controversial subject of the British Empire is tackled by constantly looking at alternative voices and different viewpoints, trying to avoid approaches of guilt, apology, post-colonial hindsight and triumphalism. It presents the evidence, leaving people to make moral judgements for themselves (Binyon 2002: 19).

As well as colonialism facilitating the movement of objects from other cultures, it also facilitated the movement of people with differing cultures to Britain. The legacy of Empire has turned Britain into a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. 6.3% of the population of Britain are now classified as ethnic minorities (Hall 1996: 67). During the nineteenth century the town of Leeds for example, encouraged people to migrate and become part of their workforce, which is evident in multi-ethnic/cultural Leeds today. Poovaya (1993: 35), for example challenges:

> Does anyone fully comprehend how profound is the psychological need of Asian people in the UK to establish or re-establish contact with their own material history in order to celebrate it and /or challenge it.?

With their history, museums have the resources to display objects relating to different cultural backgrounds, helping people to answer questions about their roots and origins. This material could be used to attract ethnic minorities to museums, which would be particularly useful at a time when social inclusion is at the forefront of political agendas. This study has highlighted that the colonial material acquired by each museum was collected by locals (see section 9.3.1), and therefore illustrates the connections which the locals had with the colonies. With further investigation into these collections and their donors, people could learn more about the history of their towns and cities and the connections they had with the colonies. This could also be the case on a national level, for example, research carried out by Salmond (2001) through the study of museum objects, has revealed the entangled history of New Zealand and Scotland.

In addition to this thesis, recent reports such as *World Connections: World Cultures Collections in the South West of England*, have revealed the diversity of cultural material held by museums today, which hold a wealth of information about other people's cultures. It also recognises the educational value of this material and its ability to contribute to current social and political issues such as access, social exclusion and racism. This material, collected in the nineteenth century, has the ability to allow museums to act as a resource for thriving cultures which were almost destroyed by colonialism and tackle some of the legacy brought about by colonialism (Simpson 1996: 247-249). Further research on the colonial material collected and donated during the nineteenth century can only be beneficial to museums today. Although the potential of using ethnographic material as a resource in museums today has been widely discussed, the potential for colonial natural history material to confront colonialism has yet to follow suit.

10 Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

In order to understand how the museums we know today came to exist, it is vital to have a thorough grasp of their past and the factors which acted to shape them into their present day form (Pearce 1992: 115; Alderson 1996: xi-xii; Mason 2004; Spalding 2002). The nineteenth century marks the expansion of the British Empire and was a prominent period in the development of the English public museum. Indeed the growth of Empire impacted on many aspects of British life, including museums, and the collections which museums received have been directly related to British colonial progress (e.g. Miller 1973: 318; Jones 2001: 239). It is thus imperative that museums and Empire are considered together. However, although museums today hold considerable quantities of material from the colonies, with the exception of a few biographies on the donors of major colonial collections the means by which this material was acquired by museums has been neglected, especially in the case of the provincial museum. The major focus of this thesis therefore has been to examine how colonialism affected the development of collecting in provincial museums in England during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. To do this, the colonial acquisitions received by five English provincial museums between 1823 and 1914 were quantified (aim 1; see section 2.3) allowing me to identify the underlying reasons for any temporal and spatial changes in the flow of material (aim 2 & 3; see section 2.3) and find out about the people and factors involved in its donation (aim 4; see section 2.3). This chapter aims to bring together the major findings of this research by discussing how these aims were achieved and suggesting possible avenues that could prove fruitful for future research.

10.2 Changes in the flow of colonial material over time

By quantifying the amount of colonial material received by five English provincial museums (aim 1; section 2.3), this study revealed that both rate-funded and society-owned museums received a variety of colonial (Australian, Indian and African) material, both natural history and ethnographic, over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 9.2). However, although all five of the museums examined received colonial material, the rate at which this material was acquired varied over time. Each museum (excluding Liverpool Museum) experienced a variety of peaks, troughs and relatively steady periods in the flow of material, with no two museums exhibiting the same trend. This study aimed to account for these

changes in the flow of colonial material which occurred over time (aim 2; section 2.3). It has previously been suggested that events relating to British colonial activity controlled the flow of this material to museums both at a national (Miller 1973: 318) and provincial level (Jones 2001: 239). However, this research strongly contradicts these findings and suggests that the overriding factor controlling the flow of this material was not British colonial events (objective 2.4; section 2.3), but factors working at the level of each individual museum. Each one had its own unique lifecycle (with periods of success usually characterized by financial stability, high visitor number/members and periods of depression usually characterized by financial hardship and low visitor/membership numbers) and it was these lifecycles that controlled the flow of acquisitions overtime, successful periods coinciding with peaks in colonial accessions and periods of depression coinciding with troughs (objective 2.2; section 2.3). This individuality of provincial museums in terms of their development and collections has been noted by numerous people (Hill 2000, 2005; Alberti 2002, 2003b; Chessum & Waterfield 1998; Knell 2000: 50). In addition this study has revealed that it was this individuality in terms of the lifecycle of the museum which actually controlled the flow of colonial material into each museum rather than external factors such as international events which occurred as a result of the development of the British Empire. Acquisition rate therefore may act as an indicator of the lifecycles or developmental phases of museums.

While British colonial events did not directly control the flow of colonial acquisitions received by provincial museums, this may not have been so for the actual collection of this material. As there was often a temporal delay (often of many years) between the collection of material and its donation to the museum, any relationship between colonial events and the collection of colonial material would not have been revealed. This is an area which could be further investigated. Recording the date of collection of each donation rather than the date of acquisition would divulge if there was a direct relationship between colonial events and the collection of colonial material. However, there is no doubt that this method would prove difficult, as when working with collection archives the information relating to collections prior to their deposition in museums is often little and far between.

Although not directly controlling acquisition flow, there is no doubt that other factors contributed to the ability or desire of provincial museum to acquire colonial material. For example, the growth of the British Empire aided the collection of material from overseas, much of the material collected was by those who took the advantage of the opportunities offered to them by easy travel within the Empire (see section 9.3.1). The influence of national museums, such as the British Museum, on provincial museums has been much reported, provincial museums often looking towards the nationals for guidance (Kavanagh 1990: 14; Sheet-Pyenson 1988: 6-8). However, it seems that in terms of colonial acquisitions, even if provincials wanted to follow the example of the nationals, they were unable to do so (see

section 9.2.4). Whereas the amount of colonial material accessioned by the British Museum rose constantly throughout the nineteenth century, none of the provincial museums exhibited this trend (objective 2.5; see section 2.3). Owing to the unique institutional dynamics provincial museums experienced, they could never imitate the British Museum's collecting habits precisely. For example, the curator often contributed to the individuality of provincial museums, each coming from different backgrounds with their own specialist interest, and so often influenced the type of material collected and displayed (Sheets-Pyenson 1988: 26; Shelton 2001c: 220). This research has confirmed that the desire to represent the locality (by both the curator and the donor) was often over-shadowed by the desire to represent the world, which is in contradiction to Hill's (2005: 75) suggestion that curators favoured collections from the locality.

This study therefore reinforces the importance of not making general assumptions about provincial museums, especially on the instance of evidence found at the national level. Rather, it is imperative to look at museums on an individual basis, taking into account the unique factors which influenced their development. One possible limitation of this study is that the majority of the museums examined were society museums. If more rate-supported museums had been chosen and examined, it is possible that a different picture could have been painted; it is difficult to discern, for instance, if the unique trends found at Liverpool Museum were the result of its rate-supported status or its maritime location. These differences thus provide an interesting avenue for future research.

10.3 Differences in the flow of colonial material into museums of varied geographical locations

In addition to accounting for any differences in colonial acquisition flow into English provincial museums over time, this study also aimed to account for differences experienced by museums of varied geographical locations, those located in coastal positions and those inland (aim 3; section 2.3). The location of the museum did affect the acquisition of colonial material proving that the development of museums is inseparable from their surrounding environment. This is particularly evident for the museums located on ports (see section 9.1.3). Liverpool Museum and the Newcastle NHS received the largest amount of colonial acquisitions, perhaps because of the greater access they had to colonial material through the connections which port towns had with the rest of the world (objective 3.1; section 2.3). Port towns were connected to the wider world through trade routes and it is possible to see this influence on the acquisition of colonial material (objective 3.2 & 3.3; section 2.3). For example, at Liverpool Museum the largest proportion of colonial material received was from

the colonies of Africa owing to the connections which the port had with the continent. However, the apparent influence of coastal location is less obvious at Whitby LPS (also located on a port), which received less colonial material than museums located inland. It is possible therefore that other factors came into play; I suggest that as the museums with the lowest number of acquisitions were those located in small towns, rather than major towns (all of which went on to achieve city status), it may have simply been that conditions to attain colonial material were more favourable in large towns (objective 3.3; section 2.3). This is an area worthy of further study. A correlational study which looks at factors such as population number and the gross domestic product of individual towns and cities may reveal relationships with the number of acquisitions received by museums located in different geographical locations.

10.4 The donation of colonial material

10.4.1 Roles and benefits

On their establishment, provincial museums had no defined collection policies (objective 2.1; see section 2.3), but it is evident that they had a desire to acquire foreign material, often actively encouraging people to collect and donate this material (see section 9.1.3). This allowed museums to give their viewers a global outlook. The methods used to encourage the collection and donation of this material varied between institutions, including letters of requests, distribution of memoranda, instructions books and the awarding of honorary memberships (objective 4.4; see section 2.3). They also acquired colonial material by passively functioning as a repository for people's collections.

This study has firmly confirmed that colonial material was not only acquired and displayed at the beginning of the nineteenth century but continued to be for the rest of the century and the early twentieth century, making a considerable contribution to the debate on local versus universal collections. Although Sheets-Pyenson (1988: 3-23) and Bennett (1995: 39) suggest that by the end of the century foreign material had lost favour and was replaced by local collections, my findings suggest that although local material became more popular at the end of the century, in the majority of cases this was not to the detriment of colonial material (see section 9.2.5). It is clear that it was advantageous for museums to continue acquiring and displaying this material.

Nineteenth-century provincial museums have been noted for their cultural, social and educational functions. This study has identified that colonial material was highly valued for the diversity of roles it played, allowing the museum to educate, advance scientific research,

entertain and promote civic pride (objective 4.5; see section 9.2). The acquisition of colonial material was justified because of its educational value. Natural history material, for example, was displayed systematically in order to inform the viewer. This educational slant obviously complemented the Victorian ethos of self improvement. However, this colonial material also played another role (although rarely admitted by the museum management); it entertained the viewer, acting as a spectacle owing to its rarity and uniqueness. The nineteenth century was a period when spectatorship as leisure became popular. This research reveals that through the display of colonial material, museums also fitted into this category. Colonial material was always the most popular, attracting viewers' attention. The prominent position in which this material was often displayed suggests that curators and committee members were aware of its ability to entertain and attract viewers, which was of course advantageous to museums, as they needed visitors in order to survive. Although within this thesis the viewers' response to colonial material was assessed, it was not exhausted and is an area which could be investigated further. The majority of historical museological research looks at how collections were formed and displayed, rather than how they were received. This is due in part to the difficulty of locating sources which reveal nineteenth-century visitors' responses to collections. However these sources do exist, for example within diaries and newspaper articles, and have the potential to provide a greater historical understanding of nineteenth century collections and museums.

10.4.2 Middle class control

The people who donated colonial material to provincial museums represented a large range of occupations which the British occupied in the colonies; most were middle class males, the majority of whom had connections with the area within which the museum was located (objective 4.2; see section 9.3.1). It is evident that the three modes of collecting (fetishtic, souvenir and systematic) identified by Pearce (1992: 68-88) were utilised by these colonial collectors. However, an additional mode, financial collecting, was also identified (see section 9.3.3).

Although curators and committee members tried to encourage the acquisition of certain types of material, they did not have total control over the material received, museums accepting almost all material they were offered. Therefore, it was not only the curators but the donors themselves who controlled the flow of colonial material from the colonies to the museum. Both these groups were composed of the civic elite and middle class, contributing to recent research exposing the role these groups played in controlling provincial museums (Alberti 2002: 310; Hill 2005: 53-68). However, it was not only the institution that benefited

from the donation of colonial material as it could have also acted as a status symbol for those donating it, giving them an opportunity to advance their own personal status (objective 4.6; see section 9.3.2). This further adds to and confirms Hill's (2005: 146-149) conclusions that the municipal museum was used as an arena for the middle class to display and define class status.

Those who donated often received or purchased material through an indirect route rather than collecting it themselves, although literature on the donors of colonial collections to museums often implies otherwise (e.g. Davis 2004; Mearns & Mearns 1998). The connections each town had with the colonies both direct and indirect (as revealed through the colonial material acquired) highlight the large number of people across the globe that colonialism affected. Even small, inland market towns such as Saffron Walden had numerous connections with the wider world as a direct result of British colonialism. This study has revealed the great variety of sources from which colonial material was acquired, both directly from those who worked abroad, as well as through more convoluted, indirect routes. One important source of colonial material for provincial museums which has previously been ignored was the menagerie (see section 9.3.1). This relationship between the menagerie (well known for its entertaining nature) and the museum (which was better known for its educational outlook) is very interesting and worthy of further research. The menagerie often donated material at no cost to the museum, and as the menagerie was a commercial establishment, it could be asked what the menagerie gained by donating this material.

10.5 Imperial messages

The display of ethnographic material from the colonies in English museums has been analysed by a number of authors in terms of its use to construct cultural differences and reinforce racial hierarchy (Pearce 1995: 308-351; Coombes 1994: 109-160; Mitter 1997: 223; see section 9.4). However, up until this point, the display of natural history material and the messages it portrayed in terms of imperialism has been ignored. Although the way in which this material was displayed on its arrival to the museum was not a focus of this study, it has revealed that the collection and display of natural history material from the colonies did reinforce common nineteenth-century attitudes (the superiority of the coloniser) that the coloniser had towards the colonised (see section 9.4). The separation of colonial natural history material from British material, for example, possibly imitated the strong divide and differences between the colonised and coloniser, as portrayed through the binary system (see section 9.4.2). It is possible that owing to the rarity and uniqueness of natural history material

from the colonies (which was emphasised by its physical separation from British material), people would create an image of the colonies as strange and alien.

Natural history material was displayed taxonomically, the only accompanying information was its scientific name, the place it originated and (occasionally) the name of the donor. It could be argued that this way of displaying natural history material was embedded with imperialistic ideologies. This desire to order nature came about during the period of Enlightenment, during which time Linnaeus' method for ordering natural history was increasing in popularity. Such structured knowledge reveals the assumptions of the era and underlies the colonial desire to control the rest of the world, from its physical and natural laws to other cultures and races (Pearce 1992: 87).

10.6 Colonial legacy

By carrying out a detailed study of the collections of colonial material held by English provincial museums, this thesis has revealed much about the collection of colonial material and the development of the provincial museum over the nineteenth century. It has further uncovered the roles they played in society, the collections they acquired and the ways in which they were displayed, the sources of colonial material and the control of the museum by the middle class. The conclusions made hitherto all point towards the individuality of provincial museums. Their developmental patterns, which include the collections they received (the flow and the type of colonial material, as well as the composition of donors from whom this material was received), were unique to each museum. It has also illustrated the complexity of factors that influenced the acquisition of colonial material. This in part helps us to understand the provincial museum today, the exclusive characters they all boast and the collections they hold.

It is clear that through the acquisition of colonial material, the histories of English provincial museums are bound up with the country's history as a colonial power and world trader. The acquisition of large amounts of colonial material shaped the development and evolution of the English provincial museum, validating Fanon's (1967b: 81) comment that 'Europe is literally the creation of the Third World'. The British used colonialism for commercial gain (as in the African slave trade) and plundered natural and cultural resources to furnish their flourishing museums. A substantial part of the material held by provincial museums today was taken from the colonies as a direct result of the expansion of the British Empire. The development of museums is often assumed to be mainly indebted to European influences, but this research has clearly illustrated that material from the colonies played an important role in the development of the English provincial museum. For instance, the

museum relied on this material to attract visitors, entertain, educate and raise civic pride, shaping the museum into the form we know it today.

The acquisition of colonial material in the nineteenth century accounts for the rich amount of colonial material still housed in English provincial museums, some of which is historically and scientifically invaluable. Visitors to Britain, although knowledgeable of the international material contained in the national museums, may not be aware of the variety and importance of the colonial material contained in its provincial museums. Curators of today's museums on the other hand, have never been more aware of the colonial material which their institution contains, owing in some cases to its controversial nature and the effects it has had on museological practices, leading in some areas to its re-examination (see section 9.5). In general it is the ethnographical material and its legacy which has led to this re-examination, although the natural history material received by museums, which comprises the majority of colonial material, has rarely been considered. For example, one of the greatest legacies ethnographical material has brought to museums is the issue of repatriation, an issue which natural history material has avoided. It is possible that this is because ethnographic material is valued by societies because of its cultural significance, whereas a nation's natural history material is generally viewed as independent of its culture heritage and is therefore not given the same level importance. However, some societies, such as the American Indians, do include natural resources within their definition of cultural material. The rarity of this material may also affect its cultural value, for example if natural history specimens are still available in the wild the want for those housed in museums may not be great. Unlike ethnographic material, other routes which may possibly help avoid the repatriation of natural history material such as information initiatives, collaborative research, loans, the computerisation of data, scientific visitors to the UK and to countries of origin, are standard procedures. Further research on the differing views towards natural history and ethnographic material may reveal why the latter (but rarely the former) is subject to repatriation requests and may predict whether natural history specimens will be subject to the same demands in the future.

Another contentious issue concerning material collected under the circumstances of colonialism is their display within museums. The collections, both natural history and ethnographic, owned by provincial museums present a great opportunity to explore the relationships between the colonised and the coloniser. However, the colonies and colonialism in general are more often than not invisible in the displays which incorporate both natural history specimens and material culture that was collected and presented to the museum during the nineteenth century, the great era of British colonialism. Ethnographic material for example, is used to emphasise the difference between cultures rather than the interactions between them. Although the superiority of the white male and their academic perspectives are now being questioned, museums continue to display material in this manner, speaking about

and on behalf of the Other (O'Neill 2004: 199-200). This is despite changes which have occurred in terms of the British Empire, for example, the dissolution of the colonial system and the emergence of the Commonwealth and of course changing attitudes towards the Other. However, it has been suggested by Ferguson (2003:364-367) that we are now in an era of 'New Imperialism'. Since the attacks of 11 September 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, many leaders of Western States, including Britain's Prime Minister, have spoken of their duty to 're-order' the world. This was confirmed with the attempt to overthrow and replace the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Imposing Western values on other countries therefore is sill strong, both within and outside the museum.

Questions however can also be asked about the importance of these cultural representations in museums in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in comparison to those today. With the advent and escalation of truly mass-media the museum has to compete with the representation of culture through these different means. Whereas the museum values material culture and objects, other media such as the television, can emphasise other aspects such as intangible culture and landscapes. In addition, package holidays which now often include safaris and meeting local people offer visitors the opportunity to experience other cultures *in situ* (Spalding 2002: 8). These all provide different cultural representations and it is interesting to ponder how they compete with each other and what future there is for the remaining colonial collections held within the English provincial museum.

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Appendix 1

Charles Henry Ellison Adamson: The Collecting Life of a British Army Employee in Burma

Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (1846-1930), was one of many hundreds of thousands of men employed by the British Army and sent out to work in the growing Empire during the nineteenth century (Dickinson 1930: 15). He led an accomplished life, both professionally as a Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army and privately through his hobby of collecting. During 25 years of working in India and Burma he collected thousands of lepidoptera and coleoptera. Although I have described the collection of these insects as a hobby, for Adamson collecting played an important role within his life; it was his passion. It was this passion that allowed the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle NHS) to reap rewards through the acquisition of his collection of Burmese and Indian insects, which included a number of type specimens. This paper will divulge details about Adamson's life, revealing the close link between his professional or 'working' life and his passion for collecting, the two being closely intertwined, one quite dependent on the other.

Childhood: an interest in natural history develops

Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (Figure A1.1), born in Newcastle on 16th September 1846, was the eldest son of Charles Murray Adamson (1820-1894) and Elizabeth Anne (née Benson). He spent his early life in the county of Northumberland, growing up in the family home of Crag Hall (Figure A1.2), situated on the edge of Jesmond Dene in Newcastle upon Tyne.[1] Adamson was part of a large family, the 1861 British Census listed that he had seven younger sisters and a brother. At this point in time, the eldest, Elizabeth was 13 and the youngest, Mary was one.

[1] Information taken from the British Census of 1851 and 1861.

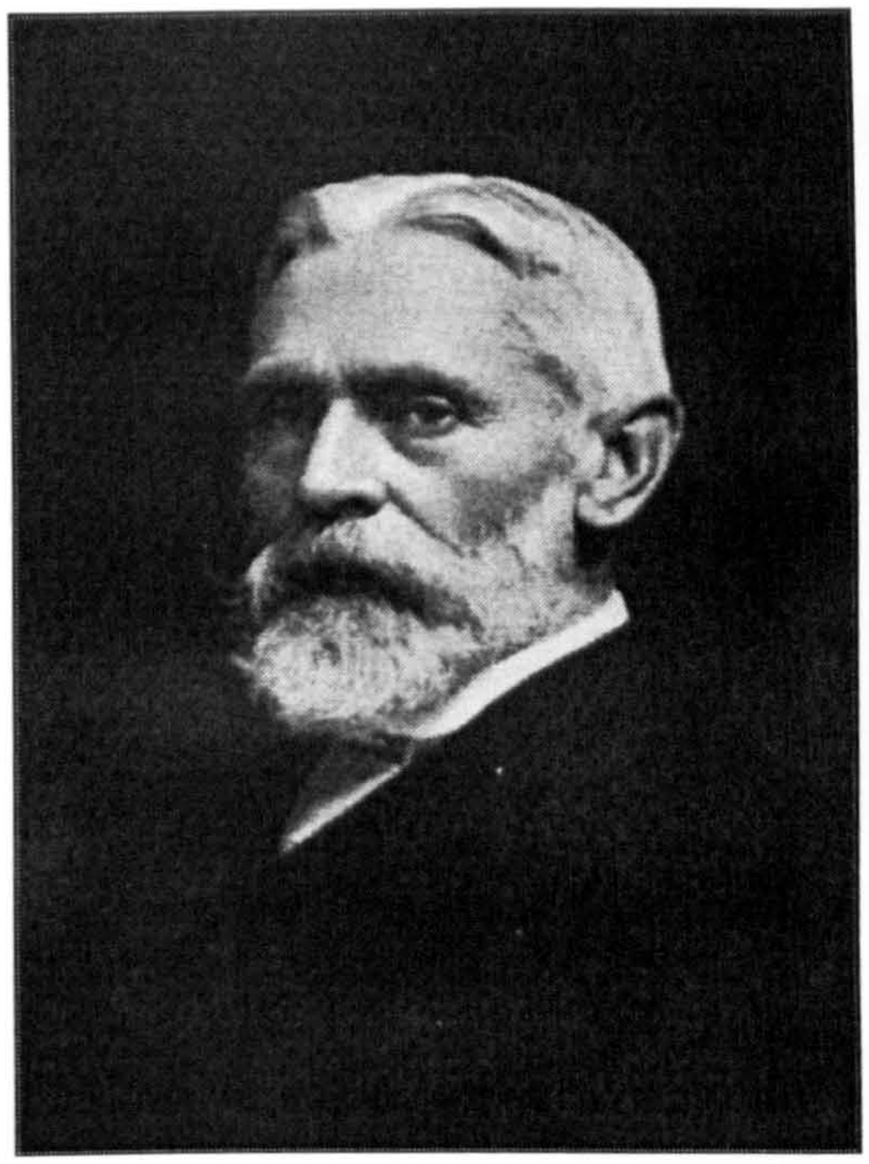

Figure A1.1 Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (1846-1930) (Dickinson 1930: 14).

Although living close to the hustle and bustle of Newcastle city centre, the nearby Jesmond Dene provided the Adamson family with a haven of wildlife. Jesmond Dene, a pocket of woodland surrounding the River Ouseburn, is situated in what is now suburbia, but in the early nineteenth century was relatively rural and undeveloped. The beauty of the natural woodland in Jesmond Dene has long inspired comment. In 1825 a local poet Robert Gilchrist noted, 'this valley can boast some of the finest scenery in the North of England, being most delightfully diversified with wood and water, forming some beautiful walks, equally inviting from their coolness and retirement'.[2] Mackenzie (1827) describes Jesmond Dene in 1825 as offering rural beauties to which the local community would resort for walks on summer evenings, and a century later, Morgan (1999: 3) described it as a 'fine romantic vale'.

The Dene and its surrounds had little human habitation until the trend for urban to rural living began and the rich started to relocate. This is the pattern that the Adamson's followed when in 1846 they moved into Crag Hall (Figure A1.2). Crag Hall was originally a short row of stone-built cottages, dating from 1788, built for miners of the nearby pit. It was converted into one dwelling by Dr. Headlam in 1841 before the Adamson family moved in. The Hall stayed in their possession until 25th June 1930 when C.H.E. Adamson died (Morgan 1999: 20). Adamson would have been able to enjoy the Dene as a child and his interest in the natural world may well have been inspired from an early age.

Figure A1.2 Crag Hall (*ca* 1973), the residence of Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (Morgan 1999: 20).

Although it can be hypothesised that Adamson's fascination for nature and collecting was encouraged by his early life living in Jesmond Dene, it cannot be denied that he was heavily influenced by his family, both his father and grandfather had interests in natural history and were keen collectors. One of Adamson's obituaries states that 'a love of natural history was implanted in Colonel Adamson from his boyhood' (Dickinson 1930: 15). Adamson's father, Charles Murray Adamson, was a local solicitor and was heavily involved in natural history; he was one of the founding members of the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club. He donated a number of lepidoptera and bird skins from North England to the Newcastle NHS (Davis & Brewer 1986: 8 & 167) and had a particular interest in ornithology as is illustrated by his publications, *Sundry natural history scraps more especially about birds* (1879), *Some more scraps about birds* (1880) and *Some more illustrations of wild birds* (1887). Within the field of ornithology he was particularly interested in the changes of plumage in birds, especially waders. He frequently visited the Northumbrian coast and Holy Island to investigate this topic. He also kept the company of other naturalists in the area including the eminent ornithologist John Hancock.[3] No doubt he encouraged his son to pursue his interest, maybe even taking him with him on his 'field trips'. If not, the natural history talk and events in his early life would surely have been unconsciously absorbed.

Adamson's grandfather, John Adamson (1787-1855), although not primarily known as a natural historian was involved in associated activities. He was a well respected member of the community, carrying out various important roles within numerous local societies; he was actually a founder member of the Newcastle NHS (1829). John was a keen collector; his collections

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[2] Taken from 'Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Newcastle', Volume 2 page 59, complied by the Local Studies Section of Newcastle Central Library.
[3] Annual Report Newcastle NHS 1895; for more information on John Hancock see section 7.4.

included those of shells, manuscripts and coins (Welford 1895: 11-15). The Adamson family were great benefactors of the Newcastle NHS in the nineteenth and early twentieth century with John Adamson starting this trend with a donation consisting of a small numbers of birds and shells (1831-1846) (Davis & Brewer 1986: 8). With this pattern of collecting and donating set not only by Charles' father but grandfather too, it is not surprising that he went on to follow this trend.

Education and career: The opportunity to collect abroad

Adamson was educated at Rossall School, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich (1860). At the age of 22 in 1868, he was commissioned into the Royal Artillery as a Lieutenant (Anon 1967: 7). This was fairly unusual as most officers started their careers as ensigns or coronets. It may have been that Charles' father, a solicitor and therefore a wealthy man, actually bought his commission. This was the start of a long, successful career of 25 years with the British Army (Indian Staff Corps), where he served in India and Burma. He was first sent to Madras in India, and from India arrived in Burma in 1868 before joining the Burmese commission as Assistant Commissioner (Anon 1967: 7). While holding this appointment he was Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner, the Hon. Ashley Eden and during this time visited most of the towns in the province. In 1875 he lived in the capital, Rangoon and held the appointment of Assistant Magistrate (Adamson 1878: 5). Following the annexation of Upper Burma by the British (1886) to safeguard their rights to remove teak and other hardwoods, he became First Deputy Commissioner in Mandalay where he also held the position of Chief Magistrate. Promotions seemed to come easily for Adamson, one following the other; he was firstly promoted to Captain in January 1880, this was followed by a promotion to Major in January 1888 with a final promotion to Lieutenant Colonel in January 1894 until he retired in 1896 and returned to England (T. Stanton 2003, pers. comm.). During his time in Burma he was involved in a number of important British campaigns, two of which he wrote accounts of; his accompaniment of the first British expedition to the jade mines as political officer in 1888 (Adamson 1889a), and his selection as deliverer of an important message from the Government of India to His Majesty (Adamson 1878). Adamson was successful in his duties and this was recognised when he was decorated for his services in connection with the pacification of Upper Burma (medal 2 clasps). His final and probably greatest professional achievement was after his retirement in 1899 when he was made a Companion of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.).

Whilst in Mandalay he met Princess Ma Ket, daughter of King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat of the Royal Palace who he married in the Royal Palace according to Buddhist rites. They had 5 daughters. Unfortunately two were killed when thrown from a boat (with a Burmese

attendant) into a river and eaten by 'devil fish'. The remaining daughters grew up and married. After the annexation of Burma, the then promoted Lieutenant-Colonel escorted his Father in law and family into exile south of Bombay India. The British built a large house for him and his family, but the Burmese King was not happy after the loss of his Empire. The Colonel did not inform the British Army of his changed marital status and presumably he could not draw a marriage allowance. He appeared to be reticent about having married Ma Ket, and never brought her to England when he came on leave. Eventually she left him and married one of the Colonel's Burmese overseers (Stanton, T. March 2003 pers. comm.).

On Adamson's retirement and return to England, he became heavily involved with his local natural history society, the Newcastle NHS, which he joined in 1896. Subsequently he was made a Committee member from 1897 to 1903, the Honorary Curator of Zoology (Invertebrata) from 1897 to 1902, and Vice-president from 1903 to 1929. He was also a trustee of the Society from 1905-1919 (Davis & Brewer 1986: 167). It was during his retirement that he wrote a catalogue of the Burmese butterflies in his collection, which was published in the *Transactions* of the Newcastle NHS.[4] Adamson's interest in natural history clearly did not cease after leaving Burma. In addition to his involvement in the activities of the Newcastle NHS and publishing his catalogue, he edited a book written by Hewitson (1899),[5] *A Collection of Original Water-Colour Drawings of Rhopalocera*. His interest in natural history was not just limited to animals. He was also a keen gardener with a great interest in plants. On his return to Crag Hall, he tended to his garden skilfully planting many scarce and uncommon plants and flowers. This was an interest he held almost right up to his death (Dickinson 1930: 15).

The donation

Adamson made a number of donations to the Newcastle NHS. His major donation, the collection of Indian and Burmese lepidoptera and coleoptera, was made in 1902, after he had left Burma and taken up residence at Crag Hall. This included 4550 lepidoptera from Burma and 3750 insects from India, Burma and Britain. Adamson wrote a letter to the Society offering his collection. However, he would only donate them if the Society agreed to a number of conditions, which they conceded to:[6]

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[4] Adamson, C.H.E. (1904-07) 'Catalogue of Butterflies Collected in Burmah' *Trans. Nat. Hist. Soc. Northumb.* 1: 155-189.

[5] William Chapman Hewitson (1806-1878) was born in Newcastle upon Tyne on 9 January 1806. He was a naturalist and collected British Coleoptera and Lepidoptera, as well as birds' eggs, and purchased specimens from travellers throughout the world. Hewitson was a member of the Entomological Society in 1846, the Zoological Society in 1859, and the Linnean Society in 1862, and contributed to and published many works on entomology and ornithology (Yolanda 2004).

[6] Committee of the Newcastle NHS Minutes. 12th November 1902 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

When I left Burmah in 1896 my collection of purely Burmese butterflies was perhaps the most complete private collection of Burmese butterflies which had yet been made. It contains several type specimens which have been described from time to time in various entomological publications, and is rich in many new species. It has been my intention for some years that these collections should go to your society on my death; but I have now determined to offer them at once to the society, on the following conditions;

1st. That during my lifetime they may be kept in the cabinets in which they now are and that no alteration may be made in the order of arrangement of Families, Groups and Genera (in which I have followed M Moore FZS in his "Lepidoptera Indica" now in course of publication) without my consent.

2nd. That the society make arrangements as soon as convenient for taking over the cabinets containing the two families, Thymphalidae and Lemoniidae, which are the families included in the "Lepidoptera Indicas" (Vols. I-V inclusive) which have been already published.

3rd. That the remainder be taken over when they have been properly arranged in accordance with the publications of each succeeding volume.[7]

It is quite surprising that this donation was made before his death as his interest in natural history did not cease. However, it was owing to the love which he had for his collection that he donated it, as he felt that he no longer had the ability to care for his collection:

> My reasons for wishing to make over portion of my collection at the present time is that my eyesight is not so good as it was and I feel that I am unable to give sufficient care and attentions to keep the specimens in good order. I may mention that I have in my will provided for the remainder of my collection of butterflies at my death being handed over to the society together with Mr. Moore's 'Lepidoptera Indica' in which several of my species are described.[8]

His donations also included some entomological books and a number of ethnographic specimens from Burma and China, the majority of which were donated to the Newcastle NHS by Adamson's sister Charlotte Thomasine Adamson (Davis & Brewer 1986: 8). This included a Burmese laquerwork, now on display at Sunderland Museum, which presumably Charles Adamson acquired whilst in Burma. On his death Adamson left the contents of his house to Charlotte, his will stating that:

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[7] Letter from C.H.E Adamson to the Committee of the Newcastle NHS dated 10th October 1902. Taken from the Committee of the Newcastle NHS Minutes, 12th November 1902 (NEWHM: 1996.H304.5).

> I GIVE AND BEQUEATH [emphasis as in original] to the said Charlotte Thomasine Adamson all furniture silver china and other personal effects of which I am possessed at the time of my death.

With Adamson's close connections to the Burmese Royal Palace, owing to his marriage to the Burmese Princess Ma Ket, it is possible that the Palace could have been the source of this laquerwork and other objects.

The collecting experience

It has been established through the examination of the donation which Adamson made to the Newcastle NHS that he was a collector of insects, both lepidoptera and coleoptera. His collecting notebooks are held by the Newcastle NHS[9] and contain some in-depth information about how he came to obtain these collections, which will now be revealed.

The first piece of evidence found in his notebooks which reveals that Adamson did actively collect, is the recording of a group of butterflies caught at Rangoon and Thayetmyo, Burma around 1870. They were not donated to the Newcastle NHS at this point but is thought that they were sent to his home in Jesmond and held by his father Charles Murray. A letter to John Hancock in 1879 clearly states that Charles Murray was interested in the practicalities of storing a number of beetles and butterflies.[10] This letter happens to coincide with the start of a number of significant lots of insects sent back to England by Adamson. In the letter he mentions his son (Charles Henry Ellison) although he does not directly connect him with the butterflies and beetles. As this letter coincided with Adamson sending his specimens back to England, it can be confidently presumed that they are Adamson's specimens:

> I am going to begin with the beetles and butterflies again: I got Sopwiths to make a cabinet for them.

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[8] Letter from C.H.E Adamson to the Committee of the Newcastle NHS dated 10th October 1902. Taken from the Committee of the Newcastle NHS Minutes, 12th November 1902.
[9] C.H.E Adamson's entomological notebooks 1878-1890, NEWHM: 1996.H425, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
[10] Letter from C.M. Adamson to J. Hancock dated 16th September 1879. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0016, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

> On enquiry at Mawson about the best gum to use they could not tell me when I went away but they promised to find out during my absence & send me some which has not yet cast up & therefore I presume they do not know which is any use.[11]

However, it should be noted that Charles Murray made a donation to the Newcastle NHS in 1880 and 1884 of 100 Lepidoptera from Northern England, so he could alternatively be referring to these (Davis & Brewer 1986: 8).

It is interesting to speculate why Adamson sent his collections back to England. One possibility is the difficulty of keeping them in good condition in Burma as the humid climate would have led to the rapid deterioration of specimens, as mentioned in the same letter written by Charles Murray Adamson to John Hancock:

> My son says the beetles are very difficult to keep in the damp climate. Do you know how they keep best. Sawdust would never do there as it would get so moist & this takes out the colours.[12]

Adamson's collecting activity of 1870 is followed by a long period of eight years within which no evidence of collecting has been discovered. It is not until October 1878 that his next notebook reveals a major period of collecting activity, which consisted of a collection of lepidoptera from Phapoon in Burma. This collection marks a significant period in Adamson's collecting life. From this moment on, it is obvious that collecting lepidoptera was not just a hobby for Adamson, it was a passion. These butterflies were caught over a 10 day period, during which Adamson actively collected every day including 'unusual hours'. It is unlikely that a beginner would have shown such dedication staying awake until the sun came up:

> I would specially call your attention to 2 curious large dark colored butterflies with large blue spots on their upper sides. These I caught on 2 evenings before the sun was up, as I was down they came flying about the ground in front of my tent each morning I caught 1, no other butterflies were flying at this hour.[13]

This was just the start of a major collection of butterflies, moths and beetles, totalling 28 'lots' (this is the word that Adamson uses in his notebook to describe the groups of insects sent to England) which Adamson collected and sent back to Britain.[14] These were collected throughout

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[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 12 March 1880. NEWHM: 1996.H425.2, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
[14] C.H.E Adamson's entomological notebooks 1878-1890, NEWHM: 1996.425, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne

Burma and India and sent back to England at regular intervals between 1878 and 1890. It is interesting to consider why he suddenly started to send his collections back to England over such regular periods at this stage, after having a gap of eight years with no signs of any collecting activity. Adamson's career path could be used as a possible explanation for the pattern observed. During his early years in India and Burma he was at his lowest rank within the British Army. Opportunities to collect during this part of his life were probably much sparser, hence not very many collections were sent home. As his career progressed and he was promoted to Captain the amount of time given up to collecting appears to increase. This promotion probably gave him more opportunities to collect, as he would have more time on leave and more opportunities to travel.

It is interesting to note the occasions when Adamson carried out the physical act of collecting. A number of accounts of collectors who were employed by the army, presume that the majority of their collecting was carried out whilst they were on leave. For example, John Hanning Speke of Devon (1827-1864) a member of the 46th Bengal Native Infantry in India took the opportunity of leave to collect specimens from much further afield, including Africa (Lloyd 1985: 75-90; see section 1.8.2). On the surface, this could have been the time when Adamson made his collections. For example over the months of August and September 1886, he collected around 219 lepidoptera in India.[15] These butterflies were caught at Dalhousie Punjaub whilst Capt. Adamson was on leave from Mandalay. However, when you look more closely at Adamson's collecting activity, it is evident that he did not just collect during his leisure time. A number of butterflies which were sent back to England in 1879 were caught whilst on march to the Kareu Frontier. Adamson commented that they were plentiful at Kyou Kugal, Nadina 'several seen lately in dense jungle'.[16] Extracts from a number of letters also illustrate that Adamson actively collects whilst at work:

> On march yesterday I caught a few butterflies one of which was new to me.[17]

> ...these insects have neither names or localities as I caught them on the March when I had no opportunity for looking at them. They all came from the neighbourhood of the Sinkan Chaung.[18]

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[15] C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks. NEWHM: 1996.H425.8, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
[16] C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks. NEWHM.1996.H425.1, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
[17] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 12th March 1880. NEWHM: 1996.H425.2, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
[18] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 6th December 1887. NEWHM: 1996.H425.8, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne

Adamson's work in the army offered ideal opportunities for him to collect. His collections which include lepidoptera from every corner of Burma reflect this. Figure A1.3 illustrates that his collecting was concentrated in four areas. He did not visit each area consecutively; much movement was made between these four areas. Adamson's collecting life is very much connected and interlinked with his career. He took the opportunity to collect at all the places he was assigned to work throughout both upper and lower Burma. His collections correlate with his work placements. For example, after he was placed in charge of the Mandalay district for nine months in December 1885, he was transferred to the Bhamo district (from September 1886), the most northerly part of Upper Burma. When arriving at Bhamo, he was ordered to direct his attentions to re-open the trade with the jade mine. These jade mines were located in the Kachin hills, about 300 miles away (Adamson 1889a: 6-7). The journey to the mines commenced on 27th December 1886 from Bhamo, which included a stop at Mogoung on 14th February 1887 for 10 days before carrying on to the mines where they arrived on 11th February 1887 (*ibid.*). It is interesting that at this time Adamson's field book note three lots of insects which were sent back to England. These included insects collected in the area of Bhamo between January 1887 and March 1888, correlating with the time he spent there.[19]

During this expedition to the mines there were many dangers and problems which Adamson was aware he may have to encounter, putting him under a lot of pressure. Little was known of the route which they were to take, a number of bridges had to be built over wide and deep streams, and roads had to be made by burning the dense vegetation. There was also concern about the reaction of the native people of the area, the Kachins, to the British. It was not known if they would welcome the British or whether they would be prepared to fight to retain control of the jade mines. Adamson had to constantly act as a diplomat, to prevent this happening and avoid losing any of his men in battle (see Adamson 1889a for a full account of the expedition). Even during these pressures, Adamson found the time to carry out his hobby of collecting. Perhaps it helped him forget about these pressures and ease his worries.

As Adamson was collecting whilst at work, this could be seen as 'abusing' his position of power. It is unlikely that those in lower positions would be allowed to partake in their hobbies whilst on duty. Luckily for Adamson, lepidoptera collecting could quite easily be carried out during working hours. The equipment required was easy to transport as was the end product. Trying to collect anything larger such as birds and mammals would be very difficult owing to the methods of collecting and the transportation and storage of the specimens. There is evidence however, that as well as catching insects, Adamson also took part in shooting whilst in Burma. During his expedition to the jade mines, whilst in Magoung for a 10 day period, he had a shooting guide from the town who went out with him (Adamson 1889a: 35). During this expedition he

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[19] C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks. NEWHM: 1996.H425.8, Hancock Museum, Newcastle

comments on going out shooting at least three times, shooting common birds, such as snipe, pigeons and woodcock (*ibid.*: 18). This gives the impression that his shooting was purely for sport, and there is definitely no evidence that any of these birds were added to Adamson's collection.

The importance of Adamson's job and the effects it had on his collecting is not just significant because of the number of places it took him to, but also the variety of habitats it allowed him to visit. For example an extract from a letter illustrates that he collected whilst on a journey through the jungle on elephant back. The opportunity to do this would most probably not have arisen if Adamson had not been an employee of the British army:

> On my way to the frontier I had to travel two days with elephants [in] the hills and during these two days especially Apr 24 I had a good day with butterflies. I caught about 40 species on the 23rd, 24 out of these at least were new to me.[20]

Collecting was obviously an important part of Adamson's life. No matter what time of day, month or year, no matter where in Burma he was located, it sounds as though Adamson always had a net in his hand:

> after a long journey on arriving at the end of it I caught a [P. laleucis] which had been basking in the sun in the silver beech. Luckily I had my net in my hand; it is quite as good as the one I caught yesterday. It was the only one I caught today worth catching though. I walked for hours with my net in my hand through jungle away from water.[21]

The following abstract illustrates just how important collecting was to him. It seems that it was not just the physical act of collecting, but also the end product which gave pleasure to Adamson. He sounds almost obsessive about the butterfly which he has caught; he could not stop looking at it:

> when I notice a butterfly which struck me as being a very large specimen of the common little yellow butterfly with a black tip to its wings I made a rather careless swoop at it with the net never dreaming of it being anything new. I caught it when you see the insect you can fancy my delight at seeing such a lovely insect in the net as perfect and fresh as it could possibly be. It is a little thing to be pleased with but I was excited as if I had killed a [manuscript obscured]. All day I kept taking out my box to look at it & I am quite sorry

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upon Tyne

[20] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 26th April 1880. NEWHM: 1996.H425.3, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne

[21] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 12th March 1880. NEWHM: 1996.H425.2, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne

> now that I cannot see it. I should much like to know if it is a rare insect. I think Lotie might paint it for me after you have set it. [22]

Adamson was a great source of knowledge on the butterflies of Burma, as well as a provider of specimens. His notebooks clearly illustrate that as time progressed, the number of insects sent back to Britain increased, and his knowledge of the lepidoptera of Burma significantly improved. The first notebook sent back to England in 1870 demonstrates that although he was not a complete novice on the subject of Burmese butterflies, he was far from an expert. There were a number of gaps left in his notebook (presumably when Adamson had difficulty identifying a butterfly), some butterflies only identified by their common names, very few by their Latin binomial. As time goes on however, the notebooks become more filled with Latin binomials, with only a small number of gaps where Adamson gives a physical description rather than identifying it himself. Although he had no significant publications himself, he was involved directly with at least one influential book on lepidoptera, *The Butterflies of India, Burma and Ceylon Vols I-II*, by Marshall and deNiceville (1882). It states in the preface that,

> from Burma we have received specimens of almost every species hither recorded; also of numerous species new to the country, and several new to science, though the kindness of Captain's C.T. Bingham and C.H.E. Adamson, and Messrs Eugene Oates and T.C. Hull.

This book was donated to the Newcastle NHS by Adamson in 1918 and attached to this book was a personal letter from one of the authors, Major G.F.L. Marshall of the Royal Engineers.[23] He presented the book to Adamson, the letter, amongst other things, acknowledging the valuable contribution Adamson made to the book:

> I am extremely grateful to you for all the help you have given, you and Bingham between you have done more for the book than any other dozen of the friends who have kindly helped.

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[22] Extract from a copy of a letter written in C.H.E. Adamson's entomological notebooks, dated 26th April 1880. NEWHM: 1996.H425.3, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne

[23] He was a fellow of the Zoological Society of London, as well as a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the British Ornithologists Union.

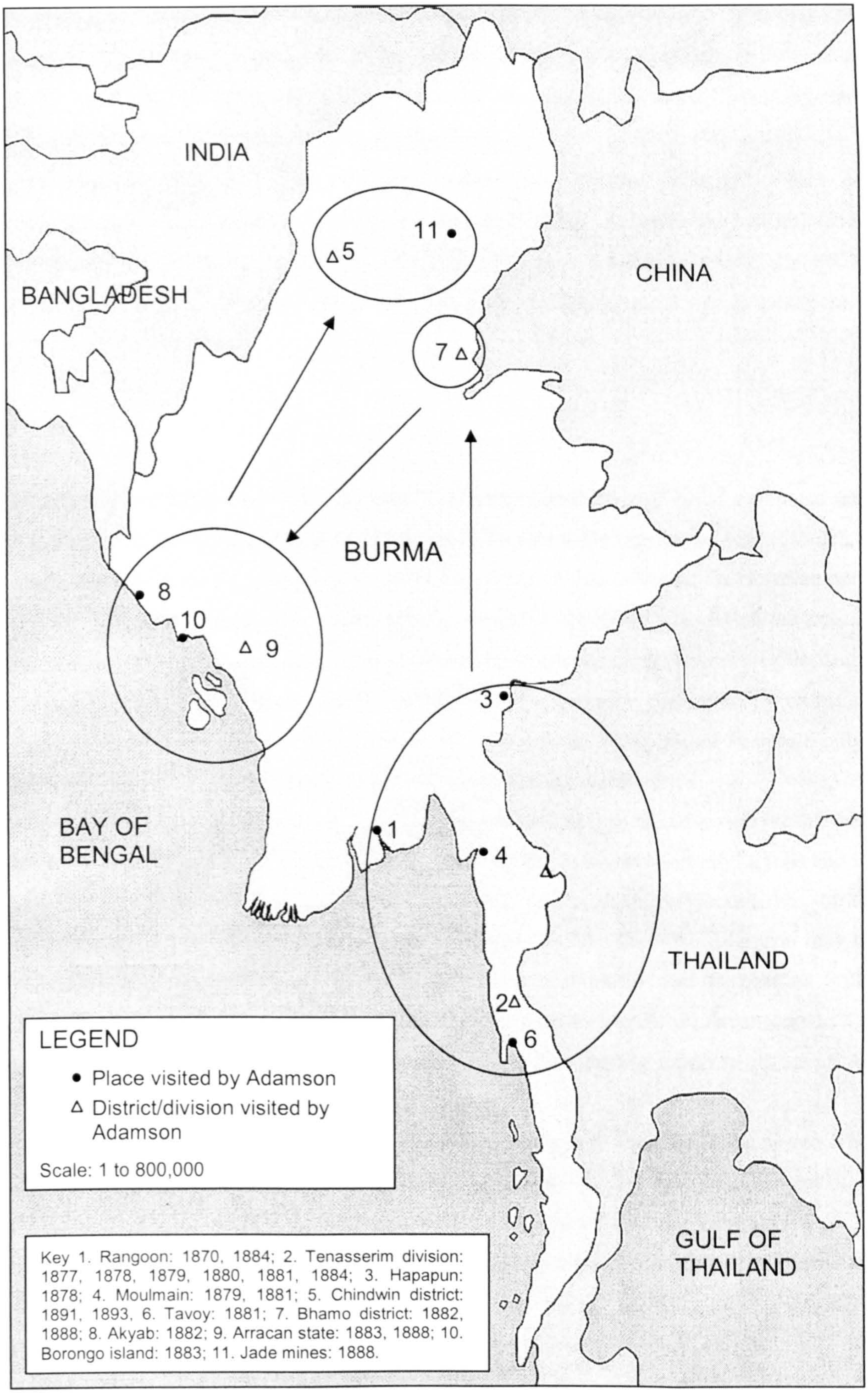

Figure A1.3 Map of Burma to show the places Adamson collected insects (information taken from Adamson's entomological notebooks; NEWHM: 1996.H425, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne).

Another book belonging to Adamson, *Hesperiidae Indicae, being a reprint of descriptions of the Hesperiidae, of India, Burma and Ceylon,* by E.Y. Watson, was donated to the Newcastle NHS by his sister Charlotte. This was also presented to Adamson by the author, again illustrating that he must have been a well-known entomologist, mixing with and known by people who had the same interests as himself. He even had a coleopteran, *Paussus adamsoni*, which Adamson collected at Minhu, Irawadi when stationed there as a Colonel in the Royal Artillery named after him (Darby 2004). Adamson also published his own papers (Adamson 1889b, 1904-07), which confirm his communication with other entomologists, through the exchange of specimens.

Conclusion

Adamson was a very successful collector. This is illustrated through the phenomenal number of specimens which are now housed in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, several of which are type specimens. He made contributions to the body of knowledge gathered on Burmese and Indian entomology during this period, contributing to a number of important books on the topic. A large amount of his time was devoted to collecting and looking after his collections. Collecting was his passion, and it was only owing to his lack of ability to look after his collection on his return to England, that the donation to the Newcastle NHS was made. Furthermore he would only donate them if a number of conditions relating to their arrangement were agreed.

His collecting activity was heavily dictated by his job as an employee of the British Army. Adamson was sent to many different areas of Burma depending on the jobs and missions to which he was appointed, and it was in these areas that he made collections. His job therefore gave him opportunities to visit many areas of Burma, which otherwise Adamson may not have visited. It seems though that it was not simply being in the army, but his position in the army which allowed him to make such a large and complete collection. When Adamson was appointed from Captain to Major, the amount of time he devoted to collecting suddenly increased, Adamson even collecting whilst he was officially on duty.

This account demonstrates how provincial museums in England in the nineteenth century became the holders of colonial natural history material. In the case of Adamson it was the expansion of the British Empire which gave him the opportunity to travel abroad and to develop a passion for the natural history (in particular lepidoptera) which the countries of Burma and India contained.

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Appendix 2

William Edwin Brooks: A Forgotten Ornithological Expert

William Edwin Brooks (1828-1899) donated an extensive collection of bird skins and eggs, principally from India, to the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle NHS) in the nineteenth century. Some of these are currently on display at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. Although Brooks was an accomplished naturalist, making this significant contribution to the Newcastle NHS (as well as donations to the British Museum: Natural History) and having numerous ornithological publications, no significant account has been written on his life. His achievements seem to have been overshadowed by those of his third son, Major Allan Brooks (1869-1946), a world famous naturalist and artist who has had a number of biographies devoted to him (e.g. Webber 1978, Brooks 1938; Laing 1979). The majority of these biographies only give a passing reference to his father. The following account will focus on the life of William Edwin Brooks, discussing his life and achievements, both as an ornithologist and a collector.

A life on three continents

William Edwin Brooks (Figure A2.1), son of William Alexander Brooks, a well-known harbour and canal engineer, was born near Dublin, Ireland on 30th June 1828 (Brooks 1938: 12). His parents (William Alexander Brooks and Mary Jane Renwick) were from Northumberland and returned to this county following the birth of William (Anon 1899: 468). It is known that he had a brother, Charles Henry, who went out to Central America with his father to take charge of two copper mines in Honduras, and at least one sister.[1]

Brooks was employed as a civil engineer and it was this job that took him to India where he worked on the Indian Railways under the East Indian Railway Company. The exact date and place of residence in India is unknown, but he definitely spent a period living in Etawa in the Northern Province and it was here in 1869 where his third son, Allan (one of five children - three sons and two daughters) was born. The family stayed in India until 1881 when Brooks retired from his work (at the age of 52), owing to his wife Mary's poor health (Brooks 1938: 12; Webber 1978: 72). It was recommended that the climate in Canada would improve

[1] Letter from W.A.Brooks to John Hancock dated 27th October 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter APP107, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

her health, so the Brooks family emigrated there in 1881. It had been a life-long dream of Brooks' to run his own farm, so they bought a 200-acre farm near Milton, Ontario. Sadly, on their arrival, Mary died at the age of 44 leaving William to bring up his five children alone. He was left in a new, unknown country with four of his children (ranging in age from nine to 17), his eldest daughter Edith, having remained in England (Brooks 1938: 12). Brooks stayed in Ontario until 1887 when he moved to another farm near Chilliwack, Oldtimers in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. However, he returned back to Ontario in 1891 where he bought a farm in Mount Forest and stayed until his death in 1899 (Webber 1978: 12).

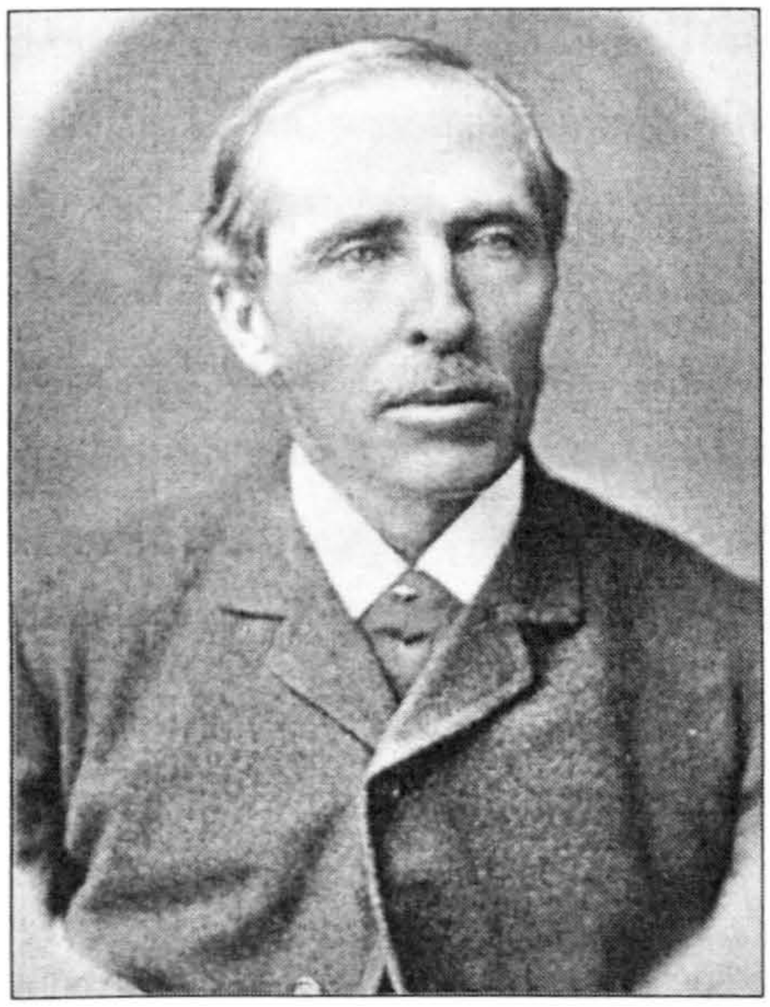

Figure A2.1 William Edwin Brooks (1828-1899) (reproduced with the kind permission of Jean Webber).

Collecting experience

Brooks was a very keen ornithologist and devoted a large amount of time both observing and collecting birds (Anon 1899: 468). Evidence of Brooks' collecting can be seen at the Hancock Museum (a number of his skins were stuffed by John Hancock himself) and the Natural History Museum, London, where a number of his bird skins were deposited. Davis & Brewer (1986: 32) record that Brooks donated 459 bird skins to the Newcastle NHS as well as a number of birds eggs. These were made over a period of 24 years in three donations (1864, 1866 and 1888).[2] As already mentioned, the majority of the bird skins donated to the Newcastle NHS were from India, where Brooks collected extensively. The first recorded

[2] The collection includes two specimens of Brook's Leaf Warbler (*Phylloscopus subviridis*) which are possibly types (L. Jessop 2005, pers. comm.).

collection date of Indian birds was in 1861 (individual specimens in the Hancock Museum are labelled with the collection date), so presumably he moved over to India, sometime between his marriage to Mary Renwick in 1859 and the collection of these first birds in 1861. However, this was not the start of his collecting career, the Hancock Museum actually holds a number of English bird species (also donated to the Newcastle NHS), labelled with the collection date of 1858. This suggests that Brooks' interest in ornithology and collecting began before his move to India. The final phase of his life in Canada, is also reflected in his collections. Reminiscent of the British specimens donated to the Hancock Museum, the Canadian specimens are less numerous than the Indian ones. This is not surprising given the proportion of his life spent there. However, it does seem that his interest in ornithology may have decreased, reasons for which will be discussed later.

Fortunately, a number of letters written and received by Brooks' (held both by the Natural History Society of Northumbria and a relative[3]) hold a wealth of information on his collecting life and behaviour. Firstly, it is interesting to note who Brooks corresponds with. Brooks wrote to John Hancock[4] on a regular basis, as well as J.H. Gurney,[5] E.W. Oates,[6] and Canon Henry Baker Tristram[7]. All of these people were pioneering ornithologists of their time, many of them also travellers. Brooks was also friends with other ground breaking ornithologists of that era, for example, Thomas C. Jerdon[8] and William T. Blanford (Brooks 1938: 12).[9] His greatest friend was Allan O. Hume, after whom he named his third son.[10] In

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[3] Mrs Betty Brooks, wife of Allan Brooks (the son of William Edwin) kindly provided me with any information she had on William Edwin Brooks, including a number of his letters.

[4] For more information on John Hancock see section 7.4.

[5] It is known that a number of letters were sent to Norwich Museum but unfortunately they cannot be located. John Henry Gurney (1819-1890), ornithologist, was made President of the Norwich Museum in 1849. He was an authority on raptorial birds, and amassed an amazing collection of them at the Norwich Museum. Gurney wrote a number of publications, mostly on raptorial birds, which appeared in journals such as *IBIS* and the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*. He was also one of the founders of the British Ornithologists' Union (Anon 1890: 299-300).

[6] Eugene William Oates (1845-1911) was a keen ornithologist. He spent a large part of his life working in Burma for the Public Works Department of the Government of India. He wrote a number of publications on the birds of Burma and India, and on his return to England compiled a catalogue on the bird eggs in the British Museum. He was the secretary of the British Ornithologists' Union (1898-1901) (Anon 1912: 391).

[7] Canon Henry Baker Tristram (1822-1906) was a clergyman and a well-known naturalist. He wrote a number of papers on many different branches of natural history, including ornithology, which appeared in journals such as *IBIS* and the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*. He travelled the world, spending much time in Algeria, and Palestine, during which he made large collections of natural history. He sold his collection (of over 17,000 specimens) to the Liverpool Free Museum in 1896 (see section 6.2.4). He was one of the founders of the British Ornithologists' Union (Baker 1996).

[8] Thomas Caverhill Jerdon (1811-1872) was a zoologist (his main interest was ornithology) and army medical officer. On completing his medical degree he joined the East India Company in 1835 as an assistant surgeon. Whilst in India he studied natural history, and was actually given leave to complete two of his major works, *The Birds of India* (1862–4) and *The Mammals of India* (1867) (Brandon-Jones 2004).

[9] William Thomas Blanford (1832-1905) was geologist and zoologist. He spent time working in India on the geological survey of India, to which he made important contributions. He carried out a number of other surveys in India and Burma, which resulted in a number of publications. Blanford was

addition, he had a great friendship with John Hancock, inviting him to stay[11] and always showing concern for his family:

> I was so sorry to hear that Albany was so ill and so was my wife and I do hope he has taken a turn for the better before this.[12]

Brooks was a supporter of the Society which John Hancock was heavily involved in, the Newcastle NHS, as is illustrated in a letter from Brooks to Hancock. In this letter he is mediating between John Hancock and Allan Hume, trying to organise the donation of Hume's collection to the Newcastle NHS. Brooks would not have done this unless he thought the Newcastle NHS was a worthy resting place for the collection:

> I am going to drop Hume a note today saying the idea of securing his collection pleases the Committee of the Natural History Society and that the proposal that he should eventually select the Newcastle Museum as the safe resting place for the grand collection will follow.[13]

Brooks' connection with Hancock can be traced back to William's father, William Alexander Brooks, who was also an acquaintance of John Hancock's. It was probably through his father that William Edwin and John Hancock were introduced. William Alexander was also a collector of birds. He made several trips across the Atlantic to Central America where he worked (Brooks 1938: 12), and like his son, he took this opportunity to collect foreign specimens. For example, whilst on his third stay in Panama (in 1878) under the charge of Ferdinand de Lesseps,[14] he collected a number of birds, as well as an alligator. In a letter to John Hancock he comments that on his next trip, he would take with him two cases to carry

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president of the Geological Society from 1888 to 1890 and companion of the Indian Empire in 1904 (Moore 2004).

[10] Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) was an ornithologist who worked in India as an administrator. He showed an interest in Indian ornithology from 1850 and started to assemble a collection, which in total consisted of over 80,000 bird skins, eggs and nests. This collection was donated to the British Museum (Natural History) in 1885. During his time in India he went on a number of ornithological expeditions and founded and edited a scientific journal of Indian ornithology, *Stray Feathers* (Moulton 2004).

[11] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 9th December 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0099, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

[12] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 26th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0098, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

[13] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 10th March 1881. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0108, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

[14] Ferdinand De Lesseps was a French diplomat and engineer who promoted the idea of the Suez Canal. At the age of 74, he undertook the Panama Canal project (Chidsey 1970).

the birds which he would catch.[15] There is no doubt that William Edwin's love of collecting was in part influenced by his father.

The letters from William Edwin Brooks to Hancock were dominated by detailed discussions on ornithological matters. Most of the topics discussed were those of taxonomy and the classification of birds. There were many problems at this time associated with avian classification. In a number of cases birds were identified in one country by one person and the same bird identified and named differently by someone elsewhere. These were matters which Hancock and Brooks discussed in their correspondence and tried to resolve. To do this, they often sent each other specimens which would help solve classification problems. For example, Brooks sent a specimen of *Aquila naevioides* (male) from India to Hancock in 1869 as a supposed new species. However, the following note was sent back from Hancock to Brooks in March 1870:

> On the first March 1870 I compared this and another which Brooks sent over at the same time to Mr Tristram with a Specimen of a *A. naevioides* in Mr Trintram's possession from Africa – and they are undoubtedly the same both Mr Gurney and Mr. Tristram hold the same opinion – I consider that *A. fulvescens* is the same also, i.e. the three in question will form but one species.[16]

In one letter he sounds very agitated about the way species are confirmed, highlighting his passion for his ornithological work:

> Again *Reguloides castaneiceps* has a chestnut head and *R maculipennis* is exactly like it but has a grey brown head, why not unite these two affirmed birds if you connect the *Budytes*? No, it won't do and connection should not be supposed between affirmed species unless it could be proved. This will never be.[17]

As well as making observations from dead bird skins, Brooks also kept live birds which he observed before killing and adding to his collection. Again, this was for the purpose of scientific investigation:

> I have two live *Aquila hastata* which I got out of their nests in July. They are fine handsome birds now richly spotted and somewhat in the style of larger bird the true

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[15] Letter from W.A.Brooks to John Hancock dated 27th October 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter APP107, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[16] Species note. 1140, written by John Hancock to Mr Brooks in March 1870. NEWHM:1996.H67
[17] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 12th March 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0100, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

> *A. Naevis* but they have no spots in the lower back and upper tail coverts as in the young of that species. They will be killed and skinned in a few days.[18]

The subjects on which Brooks communicated suggests that he collected to satisfy his interest in science. His expansive knowledge and high regard as an ornithologist is confirmed by the people he corresponded with, by his election as an Honorary Fellow of the British Ornithologists and the numerous publications that he made throughout his life. These included publications in the *IBIS* and the P*roceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. One of his last communications to the *IBIS* was in 1894, relating to the species of *Phylloscopus*, on which difficult group he was recognized as a special authority (Anon 1899: 468). He was also a valued coadjutor of *Stray Feathers* from 1873 to 1880 (by Allan Hume), contributing 27 papers to it.[19] The following sections will go on to examine Brooks' collecting life in two continents, India and Canada.

India: a period of prolific collecting

The majority of correspondence that Brooks had with John Hancock was during the period of his life spent in India. These letters give evidence of how Brooks came to accumulate such a large number of birds. Primarily he collected specimens himself by shooting them in the field:

> These last 4 days I have been shooting in the wheat fields and only got one species *Melanocephala* and this abundant today.[20]
>
> I went to the banks of the Ganges 6 miles off and there in damp and other grounds along the river I got only *Flava* and never saw one of *Melanocephala*.[21]
>
> A female *Melanocephala* I shot on the 10th just had a head as black nearly as a male.[22]

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[18] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 26th August 1874. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter APP111, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

[19] *Stray Feathers: A Journal of Ornithology for India and its Dependencies*, edited by Allan Hume. *Stray Feathers*, started in 1872 in Calcutta, as a record of ornithological observations of this area, and continued publishing till 1898 even after Hume had left India. This was the precursor of the Journal of the Bombay Natural History. NEWHM:1996.H67

[20] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 12th March 1875. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0100, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 12th March 1875. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0100, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Secondly, he obtained specimens through a system of exchange. It is quite obvious that Brooks did not personally collect all his specimens, as some were from countries such as Turkey and Russia, which he did not visit in his lifetime.[23] In some cases these specimens were exchanged on a loans basis, not to fill gaps in his collection but to use as study aids, especially to help answer taxonomic questions.

> I shall send you some birds in a box with things I am going to send Tristram. He is lending me some birds to be returned and which I long to see. He is also returning me the dark brown *Aquila naevoides* which I only lent to him as I never got another.[24]

Over the years Brooks had built up a large network of contacts who would happily give him specimens. He actually named one bird, a creeper, *C. mendelli* after his friend Mandelli who collected it for him. Brooks comments in a letter that, 'Mendell is collecting creepers for me, shooting all he can in Sikhim'.[25]

It was during this time in India that the majority of birds were sent to the Newcastle NHS. Brooks sent some valuable specimens for which Hancock was extremely grateful:

> I had made up my mind to stuff the two beautiful Eagles you sent so far back as the year 1869. They are now standing on the Pedestals at the head of our dining room on which the Grt. [Great] Auk & the Golden eagle stood before they were sent to the Museum … I hope the Eagles will remain there to the End, so that I may think of the kind donor's great liberty towards me with specimens.[26]

Birds were not the only type of zoological specimens which Brooks amassed. He also had a collection of butterflies which he sent to Hancock. It is unclear whether Brooks collected these himself, or if he was given them or if they were purchased from another individual. The butterflies were sent to Hancock, in the hope that he could sell them, as he did not want to add to the luggage which he would take with him on his emigration to Canada.[27] Hancock arranged a viewing of the specimens by a Mr. Smith who said there was nothing new in them

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[23] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 11th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0097, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[24] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 26th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0098, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[25] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 11th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0097, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[26] Letter from John Hancock to W.E. Brooks dated 11th April 1887. NEWHM:2002.H1047.3, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.
[27] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 12th March 1881. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0110, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

and the best use for them would be for a beginner to use them to practice setting techniques.[28] Obviously Brooks' talents were as an ornithologist, not an entomologist. After failing to sell these specimens, he offered them to the Hancock Museum. However, even the Museum was reluctant to take them:

> It is very kind of you to offer the remainder to the Museum. If the Society takes a set of them, there will still be many hundreds left. I will consider how best to dispose of the remainder to get any one to set them would cost more than the value of the specimens.[29]

Life was not easy in India. The climate which Brooks met when he arrived was not found favourable by him. The conditions of foreign countries were often blamed for the ill health of collectors, indeed Brooks complained about it consecutively in two letters to Hancock:

> I have been ill from the effects of too much sun and am still in very poor health to what I was.[30]

> I have had a touch of sun lately, say half a sun stroke and was left in a wretched condition for many weeks – walking 40 or 50 yds took away my breath and left me gasping and my pulse for long after the fever left me a month 90 to 100. I was almost unable to do any office work or much at all.[31]

Although Brooks had employment in India, his economic situation was not as healthy as he would have liked. His collecting hobby was obviously costly to him, for example, equipment had to be bought and much travel was involved. To fund his collecting hobby he sent the products of his expeditions to John Hancock, to be sold:

> Keep all the Reguloides eggs and we will have 20 shillings for each. No one will take all the trouble and go to the expense I did to get them & I want to make them so pay the expense if I can.[32]

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[28] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 13th July 1880. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0106, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[29] Letter from John Hancock to W.E. Brooks dated 19th September 1882. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0114, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[30] Letter from John Hancock to W.E. Brooks dated 19th September 1882. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0114, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[31] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 26th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0098, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[32] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 11th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0097, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

> These are the 4 for you and Tristram – please sell for 20 shillings each – If I sell all my stock I shall make a few pounds – If I sell at 10 shillings I shall lose a few pounds. It cost me about £70 going there and back. I was sure of what I was going to do or I would not have gone. I'll send another little box or two soon with more for sale.[33]

Whilst in India, Brooks did make a visit back to Britain in 1876. Part of this time was spent studying birds at the India Museum where he looked at the types of *Anthus* (pipets),[34] and also the Norwich Museum where he met J.H. Gurney. It was expensive to make the journey back to England and although Brooks would have liked to visit more frequently, his finances constrained him.[35] He made one last visit to England in February 1881, in preparation for the migration to Canada later in the autumn.[36]

Canada: a new life and a decline in collecting activity

Brooks continued to correspond with Hancock after his move to Canada. The tone and subject matter of the letters are very different to those written whilst in India. The first set of letters sent from Canada hardly touched on the subject of birds, but were more concerned with general facts about Canada and his new life on his farm. Brooks does mention the wildlife in Canada but in a derogatory fashion. Overall he seems to be very disappointed with the wildlife Canada had to offer:

> I am afraid you would not care too much for Canadian strange birds and their eggs. There are some nice looking butterflies here, but I suppose like all those I got in India they will be common.[37]

The tone of his letters are very downhearted which was probably due to the loss of his wife. He had after all planned his new life in Canada with his family in mind, one of the reasons for moving was to improve the quality of his wife's life:

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[33] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 12th August 1871. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter APP110, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[34] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 1876. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0102, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[35] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 11th August 1873. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0097, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[36] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 14th February 1881. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0107, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[37] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 30th June 1882. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0112, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67

> I miss my wife increasingly and I am always thinking of the time when I shall meet her again which can't be distant now, for after my long residence in India I cannot live to your age. My one sad pleasure is to take out my wife's portrait and look at it till I can see no longer.[38]

Brooks clearly had a very deep love for his wife and was terribly distressed and heart broken by her death. In another letter to Hancock he writes, 'I wish I could write to her as I do to you and if she could send me any message I'd be almost happy again. At present I am not and however busy my heart aches'.[39]

The bereavement of his wife and his general down-heartedness may be the reason for his lack of interest in collecting. However as the years past by and he learned to live with his loss, the tone of his letters once again changed, the topic of ornithology and collecting increased. By 1889, eight years after his move to Canada, he mentions that he went out to collect: 'On Friday I shot 4 Pintail duck and on Friday 5 and Allan shot 2 Hooded Mergansers.'[40] However, this collecting was for food rather than scientific interest. Brooks commenting that, 'the Pintail is the best of all ducks, never fishy, so well tasted'.[41] He spent quite a lot of time catching ducks in this period, but collected them with the purpose of exchange, not for other birds, but for groceries and shooting products:

> We killed over 200 last November, of which a few were Pintails, the rest Mallards, Ringbills, Teal & such like were not counted. I sold the bulk for tea, coffee, sugar etc. etc. also powder and shot.[42]

Brooks does mention the odd bird which 'would be appreciated in the Newcastle museum',[43] but these were not collected by himself but by his son Allan. It was his wish that one of his sons should be a naturalist and fortunately Allan showed this interest early, indeed, as soon as he could walk (Brooks 1938: 12). When Brooks reached Canada, it seems that although his collecting activity decreased, he carried on his passion for ornithology through his son. For example, when John Hancock asked Brooks for samples of birds, he declined to collect them himself, instead asking Allan to get them for him:

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[38] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 4th September 1882. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0113, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[39] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 4th September 1882. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0113, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[40] Letter from W.E.Brooks to John Hancock dated 14th January 1889. In the Hancock Letter Archives, Letter 0115, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. NEWHM:1996.H67
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*

> What I should like you to send is a male and female spotted sandpiper mature, and two in the first plumage, I believe you are in the very country for them, if you could do this for me, I should feel much obliged – I think Allan would execute this commission for me.[44]

Time commitments or old age may have prevented him from collecting, but this did not stop his interest in ornithological matters. He corresponded with a number of other naturalists during this period, such as E.W. Oates[45] and was contacted by ornithology curators at prestigious museums for advice on ornithological topics. For example, Chas. W. Richmond, Assistant Curator in the Department of Birds at the United States National Museum, was keen to ask Brooks to look at a number of skins of the willow warbler and other birds in the family, and identify them for him.[46] This suggests that he was known as an ornithological expert even in these 'foreign' parts. Brooks was also in contact with Robert Ridgeway, a leading American ornithologist and curator of birds at the Smithsonian. They had taxonomic discussions about a number of specimens sent to Ridgeway by Brooks. It is evident that Brooks had asked Ridgway to send him a number of specimens as well.[47] Brooks continued to keep contact with England, collecting specimens for the British Museum (Webber 1978: 72).

Conclusion

A review of Brooks' life clearly shows that he was an authoritative and valued ornithologist, being one of the circle of the most renowned ornithologists of his era. Although Brooks spent his life in three different continents, it seems to be his time spent in the British colony of India where his best and most productive ornithological work and collecting was carried out. This opportunity to travel to India was offered to him owing to the success of the British Empire and allowed Brooks to develop his ornithological interests abroad. The number of British and Canadian birds donated to the Newcastle NHS was a mere fraction of the Indian birds he donated. It could be that his move to India inspired or drove his desire for ornithological collecting, maybe owing to the 'exoticness' of the birds he encountered there. As his life progressed, his collecting activities changed, decreasing on his move to Canada. This was probably owing to the death of his wife, his old age, and the growing interests of his son Allan

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[44] Letter from John Hancock to W.E. Brooks dated 20th December 1885. NEWHM:2002.H1047.1, Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.
[45] Letter from E.W. Oates to W.E. Brooks dated 19th December 1889 (held by Jean Webber).
[46] Letter from Chas. W. Richmond to W.E. Brooks dated 22nd August 1895 (held by Jean Webber).
[47] Letter from R. Ridgway to W.E. Brooks dated 23rd April 1895 (held by Jean Webber).

in ornithology. Possibly, Brooks just did not find the birds of Canada as exciting or exotic as those he encountered in India.

Brooks had a high regard for ornithology throughout his life which was possibly influenced by his father. This regard is demonstrated by the way he also encouraged his own son to become an ornithologist. His enthusiasm for the natural history and others who practiced the subject is summed up in the following quote in which pays tribute to a fellow naturalist Albany Hancock:

> However, his life was well spent in throwing light upon many of the wonders of creation and when statesmen and the great politicians of the present day are entirely forgotten Albany's name will live while the world lasts.[48]

It was the Newcastle NHS that ultimately benefited from Brooks' collecting life, as his collection of bird eggs and skins were deposited there. This was despite the fact that he spent the majority of his life away from the town in which this Society was situated. In addition to his early years which he spent in the town, a major factor that played a role in the donation of his collection to the Newcastle NHS was the friendship which he had with John Hancock. This friendship, was life-long, even before it existed Hancock had connections with his family. Without this friendship, the Society may not have benefited from his donations.

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